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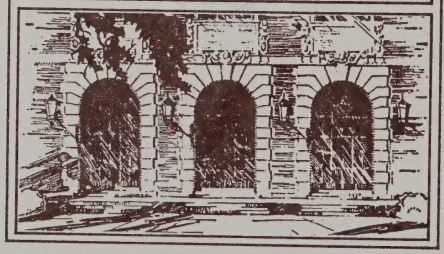

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No. I.

PROBABLE LOCALITIES.

- *a.* Place where the women washed.
- *b.* Where they saw the Indians and the dog.
- *c.* Woods into which the Indians ran.
- *d.* Hill which the Indians ran up.
- *e.* Where the first Expedition spent the first night.
- *f.* Spring where they drank their first New England water.
- *g.* Where they built their signal fire.
- *h.* Where the second night was spent, and the kettle sunk in the pond.
- *i.* Deer-trap in which Bradford was caught.
- *j.* "Plaine ground fit for the plow."
- *k.* First mound opened, which proved to be a grave.
- *l.* Where they dug up the corn, and found the kettle.
- *m.* Where they saw the two canoes, and where the second Expedition landed.
- *n.* Where they found the old palisade.
- *o.* Where the first night of the second Expedition was spent.
- *p.* Where the second night of the second Expedition was spent.
- *q.* Where the eighteen who remained spent the third night.
- *r.* The place of graves on "the plaine ground."
- *s.* The place of the two houses where they found the deer's heads.
- *t.* Where the third Expedition passed the first night.
- *u.* The two "becks" that "one might stride over."
- *v.* Where they found the grampus on the sands?
- *w.* Place of the palisade of graves "like a churchyard?"
- *x.* "More corn ground" and houses?
- *y.* Where the third Expedition passed the second night, and had the first encounter with the Indians.

A. TROCHSLER, LITH. 116 WASH^N ST. BOSTON.

FOR J. K. WIGGIN'S EDITION OF MOURT'S RELATION 1865.

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MOURT'S RELATION

OR

Journal of the Plantation at Plymouth

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

HENRY MARTYN DEXTER

Boston
JOHN KIMBALL WIGGIN
M DCCC LXV

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TO THE

HONORABLE MARCUS MORTON,

WHO CONTINUES ON THE MASSACHUSETTS BENCH AN ILLUSTRIOUS NAME,
AND IS A WORTHY LINEAL DESCENDANT OF THE GOOD MAN
WHO WAS ASSOCIATED WITH THIS

"Relation,"

AS ITS SPONSOR TO THE BRITISH PUBLIC, NEAR TWO CENTURIES AND A HALF
AGO, THIS FIRST LITERAL REPRINT OF A DEEPLY INTERESTING
AND VALUABLE TRACT

Is Dedicated with affectionate Regard,

BY HIS FRIEND AND KINSMAN,

THE EDITOR.

Boston Athenæum Sherman 2 F15 Goodspeed 750

PUBLISHER'S PREFACE.

THIS is the firſt of a ſeries of *literal* reprints of ſome of the moſt valuable tracts on our early New-England hiſtory. Their originals are now ſo ſcarce as to be, in many caſes, almoſt beyond the reach of the ampleſt means; ſo that private collectors and public libraries muſt be content with ſome reiſſue. A ſtrict *fac-ſimile*, page for page, and line by line, were, indeed, poſſible, and would be ſcarcely more coſtly than ſuch an edition as is here propoſed. Such a *fac-simile* would, however, be really no better for accuracy than this; which aims at a faithful reproduction of the original, letter by letter, though not page for page. This form is, on the whole, preferred, becauſe it admits that light from notes, in immediate connection with the text, which is very deſirable in ſuch reprints.

The works forming this ſeries will therefore be *literally* reprinted from the firſt editions, — the intention

being to reproduce every peculiarity of the original down to the minuteſt errors of the preſs, — ſo that he who holds one of them in his hand ſhall read the *ipſiſſima verba* of the ancient volume; while ſuch Introductions and Notes will be added as will give the reader the benefit of the lateſt and broadeſt reſearch in the department to which each belongs.

J. K. W.

Boston, 15 July, 1865.

INTRODUCTION.

Introduction by the Editor.

A NOVICE in hiſtorical criticiſm may very naturally ſhrink from entering into compariſon with a veteran; and, when invited by the publiſher of this ſeries to prepare for it an edition of the firſt journals of the Pilgrims, I ſhould hardly have been able to overcome my repugnance to appear guilty of the preſumption of being able to do better any thing which ſuch a man as Dr. Young had done ſo well, had I not remembered that both Bradford's Hiſtory and the Leyden Records have offered themſelves to our ſtudy ſince he wrote; had I not hoped that a perſonal familiarity from childhood with important portions of the ground on which the events narrated took place, might aid me to ſome concluſions the data of which had eſcaped his attentive yet ſometimes unfamiliar eye; and had I not greatly deſired that a literal reprint of Mourt ſhould be ſecured. I can only hope that my ſucceſs, eſpecially in the latter particular, may prove to be in

ſome meaſure equal to my endeavor; although that has lacked the well-nigh indiſpenſable element of abundant leiſure to read proof over and over and over again until every minuteſt untruthfulneſs has been eliminated.

The *Relation* was firſt printed in London by John Bellamie, in 1622. In 1624, John Smith introduced an abſtract of much of it into his *General Hiſtorie*, under the head of *A Plantation in New-England.* In 1625, it was condenſed about one-half (and not very accurately) by Purchas, and inſerted in the fourth volume of his *Pilgrims.* This abridgment was reprinted with notes by Dr. Freeman, in 1802, in 1 *Maſſ. Hiſt. Coll.*, viii. [pp. 203–239.] In 1822, thoſe portions which Purchas had omitted were reprinted with notes by Dr. Freeman and Judge Davis, in 2 *Maſſ. Hiſt. Coll.*, ix. [pp. 26–74], from a manuſcript copy, procured in 1819, by Mr. Du Ponceau, from the original volume in the City Library of Philadelphia. Theſe *diſjecta membra* were all that had been done in the way of reiſſue, until 1841, when Dr. Young reprinted the complete work, from the copy of the original in the library of Harvard College, in his *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers* [pp. 109–249]. He added copious and very valuable notes, but did not ſeek to reproduce the volume in its original ſtyle. In 1848, Rev.

George B. Cheever, D.D., of New-York City, iſſued an edition, which he intended ſhould be an accurate reproduction of the *Relation* in its ſpelling, though he made no attempt to caſt his book in the mold of the original as to form, and freely modified it in the matter of paragraphs and punctuation; adding more than two hundred and fifty pages of comment or diſſertation, ſuggeſted by the contents.

The preſent is, therefore (throwing out the abridgments of Smith and Purchas), the fourth reprint (fifth edition) of the book, and the firſt reiſſue in which the endeavor has been made to follow exactly the firſt copies, in ſtyle of type, paging, and identity of embelliſhment,—in all of which particulars neither pains nor expenſe has been ſpared to render it worthy of the confidence and favor of *connoiſſeurs*. Every caption, initial letter, and ornamental heading, has been engraved in *fac-ſimile* from the original; and the only defect in the reproduction is, that the copy — thanks to the ſuperior capabilities of the modern preſs — is a great deal more ſplendid than its modeſt prototype ever was in all the glory of its freſhneſs, two hundred and forty-three years ago.

The haſty reader will not do juſtice to the accom-

pliſhed preſs from which this volume proceeds, unleſs he remembers that the proofs of the firſt edition of the *Relation* were very imperfectly read; and, by conſequence, have compelled this reprint to bluſh under a load of errors which would be the ruin of a modern printer of any pretenſion, if the fact were not kept in memory that theſe errors are, with him, blunders of ſkill, and not of careleſſneſs. I have not uſually thought it needful to call attention to them in the notes, except when they become liable to miſlead the reader, or are of ſuch a nature as very much to obſcure the ſenſe. Inſtances like "ny" for "many" (page 5, 11th line from the top), "Munday the 13. day," for "Munday the 18. day" (page 61, 5th line from the top), &c., it has not been thought neceſſary to refer to in the notes, as they ſufficiently explain themſelves. John Bellamie's printing-office appears to have run very low in punctuation-marks as the compoſitors approached the end of this book, ſo that Italic colons, and old Engliſh colons and periods, were not unfrequently made to do unwonted duty in plain Roman company, — all of which, ſo far as watchful eyes have been able to ſecure it, has been here faithfully duplicated; in the recollection of that ſuggeſtion of De Bury which has ſpecial force in its application to the re-

production of an ancient volume, — "*Quantum impediat intellectus officium vel unius vocabuli ſemi plena notitia*,"* and in the feeling that Alcuin's motto, in its moſt ſervile ſenſe, is ſafeſt for a copyiſt, whether with pen or types: —

"Et punctos ponant ordine quoſque ſuo." †

This reprint has been made from a copy of the original moſt kindly loaned for the purpoſe by Mr. Charles Deane of Cambridge, to whom I am further indebted for ſundry valuable hints. I have been eſpecially aided in regard to all queſtions relating to the topography of Provincetown, and the extremity of Cape Cod, by the intelligent help of the Rev. Osborne Myrick, for many years the excellent paſtor of the Congregational Church in that town, who has made the ancient geography and natural hiſtory of that intereſting but peculiar portion of our Maſſachuſetts territory a ſpecial ſtudy. My thanks are alſo due to the Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull of Hartford, Conn., for the notes which he has generouſly furniſhed upon ſundry Indian names herein occurring; thereby enriching the work with ſuggeſtions of that deſcription, ſometimes of ſpecial intereſt, and always of unique value, inaſmuch as his *dictum*, upon a queſtion on

* *Philobiblion*. Cap. xii. l. 3. † *Alcuini Opera*, ii. 211.

which he is the moſt accompliſhed living authority, is neceſſarily final. I muſt not forget, alſo, to record my gratitude to M. le Baron W. J. C. Rammelman Elſevier, Archiviſt of the city of Leyden, for various items from the Leyden Ms. records, ſhedding new light upon ſome of the relationſhips and experiences of our Pilgrim fathers and mothers before their coming to theſe ſhores, of which I have freely availed myſelf.

All dates have been given in both new and old ſtyle, to facilitate the convenience of the reader.

The maps I have traced from the State map, in outline, and filled them in, by the aid of Major Graham's chart, according to my beſt judgment; endeavoring eſpecially to indicate the locality of the firſt waſhing-place, and the probable route taken by each of the three exploring parties.

Dr. Young has brought out, with great clearneſs and concluſiveneſs, the evidence that Bradford and Winſlow were the authors of the main portion of this volume. Cuſhman ſays it was "writ by the ſeveral actors themſelves, after their plain and rude manner" (ſee page xxxvi); and all that we know of the Plymouth Pilgrims limits the probabilities of ſuch authorſhip to Bradford and

Winſlow. If one were to attempt to deſignate ſpecifically the ſource of every portion of the volume, the reſult muſt be, I think, as follows:—

pp. xxxv–xxxviii.	Dedication to Mr. John Peirce, .	*Robert Cuſhman.*
pp. xxxix–xl.	To the Reader, ...	*George Morton.*
pp. xli–xlvii.	Certaine vſeful Advertiſements, .	*John Robinſon.*
pp. 1–97.	A Relation, &c., ...	*William Bradford.*
pp. 98–111.	A Journey to *Packanokik*, &c. .	*Edward Winſlow.*
pp. 112–117.	A Voyage, &c., to *Nauſet*, &c. .	*Edward Winſlow.*
pp. 118–123.	A Journey to *Namaſchet*, &c. . .	*Edward Winſlow.*
pp. 124–130.	A Relation of the Voyage to the *Maſſ.*, ...	*Edward Winſlow.*
pp. 131–142.	A Letter, &c.	*Edward Winſlow.*
pp. 143–154.	Reaſons and Conſiderations, &c.	*Robert Cuſhman.*

Theſe Journals of the daily occurrences in the infant Colony bear the marks of having been written from day to day, on the ground; and therefore claim the higheſt value as teſtimony in regard to the facts which they narrate. They were evidently carried to England by Robert Cuſhman, when he returned in the Fortune, and were placed by him in the hands of "G. Mourt" for publication, with his own prefixed note to Mr. Peirce, and appended tract perſuaſive of emigration.

It would appear, from a paſſage in Edward Winſlow's *Good Newes from New-England*, which was publiſhed in

London in 1624, that it was not underſtood, when theſe Journals left their author's hands, that they would be printed on reaching London. Winſlow ſays [as in Young's *Chron. Plym.*, page 355], "Myſelf and others, in former letters (*which came to the preſs againſt my will and knowledge*), wrote, &c., &c." I am not aware of any other publication than this to which he could thus refer; ſo that the inference ſeems unavoidable that theſe journals were ſent over to their friends in London in *Ms.*, and with the original expectation that they would remain ſo, but were publiſhed by Mourt (who ſays he "thought it not a miſſe to make them more generall"), with Cuſhman's advice and aſſiſtance; probably on requeſt of the merchant adventurers, in the feeling that ſuch publication would aid in the work of inducing new emigrants to offer themſelves to the waiting Colony, in which thoſe adventurers had ſo decided a pecuniary intereſt.

But who was "G. Mourt?" From his preface, two things are clear:—

1. He had been formerly aſſociated with the writers of theſe Journals — Bradford and Winſlow — to that degree that he could ſpeak of them as "my both known and faithful friends" (ſee page xxxix).

2. He had always deſired, and was now intending ſoon, to emigrate in perſon to join the company in New-Plymouth; inaſmuch as he ſays, "Myſelfe then much deſired, and ſhortly hope to effect, if the Lord will, the putting to of my ſhoulder in this hope full buſineſs." (See page xxxix.)

If in this caſe, as in each ſimilar inſtance in the volume, the *initials* only had been given, and we were ſimply called upon to interpret "G. M.," no one probably would heſitate to read them *George Morton*, inaſmuch as there was no other member of the Leyden-Plymouth Company, to all appearance, ſo likely as he was to have done ſuch a work. He had joined them at leaſt as early as 1612. He had been intruſted with public employment on their behalf. He ſeems to have been in London as an agent for them, while thoſe negotiations were going on with Weſton and others, which reſulted in the ſailing of the Mayflower. He himſelf ſailed with his family for New Plymouth in the Anne, about the laſt of April, in the following year. He is the only G. M. of whom theſe things were true; in fact, the only G. M. of any ſort known as being in their company, of whom they could be true.

Unleſs we take the ground, then, that the difference between *Mourt* and *Morton* is ſufficient to overturn theſe

probabilities by ſuggeſting another of greater weight, we ſhall inevitably come to the concluſion which was reached by Dr. Young [*Chron. Plym.*, page 113], that "G. Mourt" was none other than George Morton. Mr. Hunter, indeed, ſuggeſts [*Founders of New-Plymouth*, page 122] that there were two Puritan families then in England whoſe names approached nearer in orthography to "Mourt" than Morton does; viz., *Mort* in Lancaſhire, and *Moult* in Derbyſhire: but the fact that no perſon of either of theſe families is known to have had ſuch intercourſe with the Pilgrim fathers, and ſuch connection with their hiſtory, as are eſſential to the requiſitions of this caſe, muſt neceſſarily be fatal to any inference ſuch as he ſuggeſts might be poſſible in regard to them. And it is only needful to infer ſome whim of the moment on his part, poſſibly ſome deſire of diſguiſe, or ſome unnoticed and uncorrected blunder of the printer here, ſuch as plentifully occurs elſewhere in the volume, to account for the abbreviated form in which the name appears. So that we may ſafely ſet it down as reaſonably eſtabliſhed, that George Morton was the procurer in London of the publication of this volume, and its introducer to the Engliſh reader.

It may be aſked why, if his father had this reſponſible

connection with this *Relation*, did not Nathaniel Morton refer to the fact in his *Memorial?* To this it may be replied, that George Morton had probably been dead more than forty years when Nathaniel Morton wrote the *Memorial;* that Nathaniel, at the time of his father's death, was a child of ſcarcely more than eleven years of age; that the ſon had even loſt the memory of the day of the month of June, 1624, in which the deceaſe of his father took place; and that, therefore, much definite reference would not be natural. I am inclined to think, however, that there may be an actual though vague alluſion to G. Mourt's preface to the *Relation*, in what Nathaniel does ſay in the *Memorial* of his father. I put the two ſentences in parallel; thus:—

Mourt.	*Morton.*
"Though it fared with them, as it is common to the moſt actions of this nature, that the firſt attemps proue diffecult," &c. [page xxxix.]	"Labouring to ſtill the Diſcontents that ſometimes would ariſe amongſt ſome ſpirits, by occaſion of the Difficulties of theſe new beginings," &c. — [*N. E. Mem.* 48.]

I ſubmit the theory that the author of the *Memorial* had in mind, in writing this ſentence, the addreſs of his father to the Reader, as quoted above.

I wiſh I knew more of George Morton: it is not for want of "journeyings often" that I do not. He arrived at Plymouth, in the Anne, in July, 1623, bringing with him his wife Juliana, and theſe five children; viz.: —

(1.) Nathaniel, born (ſay) May, 1613.
(2.) Patience, born (ſay) Feb. 1615.
(3.) John, born (ſay) Nov. 1616.
(4.) Sarah, born (ſay) May, 1618.
(5.) Ephraim, born (ſay) June, 1623.

The firſt four are ſuppoſed to have been born in Leyden: there is a tradition that Ephraim was born on the paſſage over.

George Morton lived leſs than a year after his arrival. His ſon Nathaniel, in his *New-England's Memorial* [Cambridge, N. E., 1669, page 48], ſays of him, "Mr. *George Morton* was a pious gracious Servant of God, and very faithful in whatſoever publick Imployment he was betruſted withall, and an unfeigned well-willer, & according to his Sphere and Condition, a ſutable Promoter of the Common Good and Growth of the Plantation of *New-Plimouth*, labouring to ſtill the Diſcontents that ſometimes would ariſe amongſt ſome ſpirits, by occaſion of the Difficulties of theſe new beginnings: but it pleaſed

God to put a period to his dayes ſoon after his arrival in *New-England*, not ſurviving a full year after his coming aſhore. With much comfort and peace he fell aſleep in the Lord in the month of *June*, *Anno* 1624."

Going back to England, the next earlier trace which we have of George Morton muſt depend upon the very queſtion juſt now conſidered. If he were "G. Mourt," then we find him in London in 1621–2, acting in ſome capacity of public ſervice for the Leyden and Plymouth peoples.

The next earlier trace occurs in a letter of John Robinſon from Leyden to John Carver in England, under date of $\frac{25 \text{ May,}}{4 \text{ June,}}$ 1620, in which Mr. Robinſon mentions incidentally that Mr. Weſton "would come to Georg Morton and enquire news of him aboute things, as if he had ſcarce been ſome acceſſarie unto it." — [Bradford's *Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 48.] Whether this "coming" took place in London or in Leyden, the letter gives no data for ſurely determining; though, for the reaſons that Weſton's reſidence was in London (though he had viſited Leyden a few months before), and that Mr. Robinſon prefixes his account by ſaying, "I *have heard* that," &c., &c., as if that which he relates had happened further

from his own immediate obſervation than the city where he was then reſident, I incline to the judgment that Weſton came to George Morton, in London, and that the latter was therefore one of thoſe agents who were ſent over to England whoſe names are not given [Bradford's *Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 45], and was therefore officially in England at that time.

Going back ſtill further for the next trace, over a chaſm of eight years, we ſtrike the Dutch record of the marriage in Leyden, $\frac{15}{25}$ Dec., 1612, of Edward Pickering, "merchant from London," with "Maycken Stuws," [Mary Stowers?] and with George Morton preſent as a witneſs. Five months earlier, we reach the record of the marriage of the man himſelf, as follows: —

"*George Morton*, merchant from York in England, ac-
"companied by Thomas Morton his brother, and Roger
"Wilſon, his acquaintance,

with

Juliana Carpenter, maid from Bath in England,* ac-
"companied by Alexander Carpenter, her father, and

* Others of this Carpenter family are down in theſe ſame records as from "Wrenten" [Wrington?], England, — which is a little village ſome ſixteen miles, a little ſouth of weſt, from Bath, — in Somerſetſhire.

"Alice Carpenter her ſiſter, and Anna Robinſon, her "acquaintance.*

"The banns were publiſhed, $\frac{6}{16}$ July, 1612.

"The marriage took place, $\frac{23 \text{ July,}}{2 \text{ Aug.,}}$ 1612."

The clew here given of reſidence in the North of England, I have failed to follow to any comfortable certainty of origin. The indefatigable antiquary of York, Mr. William Paver, has hunted for me the records of that ſhire thus far in vain; writing, "I very much regret to have to inform you, that, after a long and painſtaking ſearch, I have not been able to find any thing relating to *George* Morton." It is poſſible, indeed, that the ſuggeſtion which Mr. Hunter throws out [*Founders of New-Plymouth*, 124], that this George Morton may have been the George hitherto unaccounted for in the family of Anthony Morton of Bawtry, — one of the "hiſtorical families of England," — and that from Romaniſt lineage he "ſo far departed from the ſpirit and principles of his family as to have fallen into the ranks of the Proteſtant Puritans and Separatiſts," may be true. Mr. Hunter adds, "The conjecture is, perhaps, too bold and too im-

* This *Anna* does not appear to have been a member of the family of the great and good paſtor of this Leyden flock; at leaſt, no one with that Chriſtian name is in the liſt of his houſehold.

probable; but it is eaſier to ſay ſo than to inform us what became of this prominent member of a very eminent family." I truſt the reſearches of the not diſtant future may ſettle the queſtion, and reveal the point of contact between this Pilgrim and the lineage in the Father land.

I am able to add a few meager notes in regard to the deſcendants of George Morton in New England, mainly in one line of deſcent, which I ſet down here rather as hooks upon which others may, perhaps, be ſtimulated to hang further reſearches, than as aſpiring, in the humbleſt degree, to the character of a genealogy of the family.

GEORGE MORTON,[1] merchant, York, Eng., $\frac{23 \text{ July,}}{3 \text{ Aug.,}}$ 1612, m. at Leyden, Holl., *Juliana*, dau. of *Alexander Carpenter* of Wrington, Somerſetſhire, Eng. He d. Plymouth, N. E., June, 1623; ſhe d. $\frac{19}{29}$ Feb., $166\frac{5}{6}$, æt. 81. Had five children; viz.: (1) Nathaniel;[2] (2) Patience;[3] (3) John;[4] (4) Sarah;[5] and (5) Ephraim.[6]

NATHANIEL,[2] b. 1613? (d. $\frac{29 \text{ June,}}{9 \text{ July,}}$ 1685,) m. (1) 1635; *Lydia Cooper* (d. $\frac{23 \text{ Sept.,}}{4 \text{ Oct.,}}$ 1673); (2) *Ann Templar* (d. $\frac{26 \text{ Dec.,}}{5 \text{ Jan.,}}$ $169\frac{0}{1}$.) Had eight children; viz.: (1) Remember[7] (1637); (2) Mercy;[8] (3) Lydia;[9] (4) Eliza-

beth [10] ($\frac{3}{13}$ May, 1652); (5) Joanna [11] ($\frac{9}{19}$ Nov., 1654); (6) Hannah,[12] (7) Eleazer [13] (d. young); (8) Nathaniel [14] (d. young).

Patience,[3] b. 1615? m. 1633, *John Faunce;* had nine children; viz.: (1) Prifcilla [15] (m. Joſeph Warren); (2) Mary [16] ($\frac{15}{25}$ July, 1658, m. William Harlow); (3) Patience [17] ($\frac{20}{30}$ Nov., 1661, m. John Holmes); (4) Sarah [18] ($\frac{26 \text{ Feb.,}}{8 \text{ Mar.,}}$ $166\frac{3}{4}$, m. Edward Dotey); (5) Thomas [19] (b. a. 1647); (6) Elizabeth [20] (b. $\frac{23 \text{ March,}}{2 \text{ April,}}$ 1648, d. next yr.); (7) Mercy [21] (6 $\frac{10}{20}$ Apr., 1651, $\frac{29 \text{ Dec.,}}{8 \text{ Jan.,}}$ $166\frac{7}{8}$, m. Nathaniel Holmes); (8) John [22] (d. $\frac{29 \text{ Nov.,}}{9 \text{ Dec.,}}$ 1654); (9) Joſeph [23] (b. $\frac{14}{24}$ May, 1653, d. $\frac{18}{28}$ Jan., 1687).

John,[4] b. 1615? m. *Lettice* ——? had nine children; viz.: (1) John [24] d. young; (2) John; [25] (3) Deborah; [26] (4) Mary; [27] (5) Martha; [28] (6) Hannah; [29] (7) Eſther; [30] (8–9) Manaſſah [31] and Ephraim [32] (twins.)

Sarah,[5] b. 1618? $\frac{20}{30}$ Dec., 1644, m. (as ſecond wife) *George Bonham;* had probably five children; viz.: (1) Ruth [33] ($\frac{28 \text{ Nov.,}}{8 \text{ Dec.,}}$ 1666, m. Robert Barron); (2) Patience [34] ($\frac{28 \text{ Dec.,}}{7 \text{ Jan.,}}$ $167\frac{0}{1}$, m. Richard Willis); (3) Sarah [35] (b. $\frac{4}{14}$ Dec., 1649, d. early in 1650); (4) Sarah [36] (b. $\frac{12}{22}$ Jan., $165\frac{1}{2}$, d. prob. ſoon); (5) Sarah [37] (b. $\frac{10}{20}$ Dec., 1653, d. $\frac{28 \text{ Apr.,}}{9 \text{ May,}}$ 1704, æt. 86).

Ephraim,[6] b. 1623? d. $\frac{7}{17}$ Sept., 1693, m. (1) $\frac{18}{28}$ Nov., 1644, *Ann Cooper* (d. $\frac{1}{10}$ Sept., 1691); (2) Oct., 1692, *Widow Mary Harlow.* By the firſt wife had

nine children; viz.: (1) Ephraim[38] (b. $\frac{27\ \text{Jan.,}}{6\ \text{Feb.,}}$ $164\frac{8}{9}$, d. $\frac{18}{29}$ Feb., $173\frac{1}{2}$); (2) Rebecca[39] (b. $\frac{15}{25}$ Mar., 1651); (3) Joſiah[40] (b. 1653); George[41] [he ſleeps on Burial Hill in Plymouth, with this inſcription, "Here lies y^e^ Body of Deacon George Morton, who Dec.^d^ Auguſt y^e^ 2^d^ 1727 in y^e^ 82^d^ year of his Age"]; (5) Nathaniel;[42] (6) Eleazer;[43] (7) Thomas;[44] (8) Patience[45] (m. John Nelſon); (9) Mercy.[46]

Eleazer,[43] m. *Rebecca* ——? (received from his father by will in *Plym. Rec.* [of date $\frac{27\ \text{Sept.,}}{6\ \text{Oct.,}}$ 1693.] all his intereſt in the 16 ſhilling purchaſe, so called, in Middleborough, and one-third of his reſidual perſonal eſtate), had four children; viz.: (1) Eleazer;[47] (2) Ann;[48] (3) Nathaniel;[49] (4) Rebecca.[50]

Nathaniel,[49] m. 1720, *Rebecca Ellis*, widow of Mordecai (ſhe m. Ellis in 1715), and daughter of Thomas Clark. They had four children; viz.: (1) Elizabeth;[51] (2) Nathaniel[52] (b. 1723); (3) Eleazer;[53] (4) Ichabod.[54] The father was loſt at ſea while ſtill young, and his widow m. 1730, for her third husband, *Thomas Swift*, of Sandwich, by whom ſhe had a numerous iſſue. [*Ichabod*[54] (m. *Deborah* ——? who d. 17 Nov., 1789, *æt.* 59), lived in Middleborough, was 10th deacon of the Congregational Church there, where he d. 10 May, 1809, *æt.* 85. He had ſix ſons; viz.: (1) Eleazer;[55] (2) Eliſha;[56] (3) Ichabod;[57] John;[58] (5) Nathaniel;[59] (6) Mordecai.[60]]

NATHANIEL,[52] 1749, m. *Martha Tupper*, and had five children; viz.: (1) Rebecca;[61] (2) Nathaniel;[62] (3) Martha;[63] (4) Elizabeth;[64] (5) Job.[65] [He lived firſt in Middleborough, but removed thence to Freetown, on the neck between Long Pond and *Aſſawompſett* and *Quitticas*, where he accumulated a large property; leaving each of his children a farm, and ſtill holding four or five farms at his death. His ſon Job[65] lived on his land, and reared a large family of boys.]

NATHANIEL,[62] b. 1 June, 1753 (d. 18 Nov., 1832, æt. 79), 19 Mar., 1782, m. *Mary Cary* [3d child of Eleazer, of Bridgewater, — ſon of Jonathan, ſon of Jonathan, ſon of John, fr. Somerſetſhire, Eng.], b. 11 April, 1756 (d. 9 Aug., 1835, æt. 79). They had two children; viz.: (1) Marcus;[66] (2) Mary.[67]

MARCUS,[66] b. 19 Feb., 1781 (d. 6 Feb., 1864, *æt.* 79), 23 Dec., 1807, m. *Charlotte Hodges*, of Taunton. They had twelve children; viz.: — (1) Joanna Maria[68] (b. 28 Oct., 1808, m. William T. Hawes, New Bedford); (2) Charlotte[69] (b. 9 July, 1810, d. 15 Oct., 1814); (3) Lydia Maſon[70] (b. 29 June, 1812, m. Rev. Henry Lee, D.D., now Biſhop of Iowa); (4) Nathaniel[71] (b. 16 Apr., 1814, d. 10 May, 1814); (5) Charlotte[72] (b. 19 Apr., 1815, m. Samuel Watſon, Eſq., Naſhville, Tenn.); (6) Sarah Carey[73] (b. 31 Mar., 1817, m. Willard Lovering, Eſq., Taunton); (7) Marcus[74] b. 8 April, 1819, m. Abby Hoppin of Providence, R. I.); (8) Nathan-

iel[75] (b. 3 Dec., 1821, m. Harriet, dau. of Hon. Francis Baylies of Taunton, d. 12 Feb., 1856); (9) James Hodges[76] (b. 21 June, 1824, m. Elizabeth, dau. of Hon. Geo. Aſhmun of Springfield); (10) Suſan Tillinghaſt[77] (b. 16 April, 1826, m. M. Day Kimball, Eſq., Boſton); 11 Frances Wood[78] (b. 17 Jan., 1828, m. Charles Henry French of Andover, Maſs.); (12) Emily Matilda[79] (b. 10 Nov., 1831, m. Daniel Dawes of Brooklyn, N. Y.)

Mary,[67] b. 28 Sept., 1785 (d. 16 Oct., 1822, *æt.* 37.) 30 Dec., 1812, m. (as his ſecond wife) Rev Elijah Dexter of Plympton [ſixth child of Dea. Elijah, of Rocheſter, Maſs., who was fourth child of Dea. Seth, who was eleventh child of Benjamin, who was ſeventh child of William, who was almoſt certainly a ſon of "Farmer" Thomas, of Lynn and Sandwich.] They had four children; viz.: (1) Nathaniel Morton[80] (b. 28 Sept., 1814, d. 18 Sept., 1838, *æt.* 24); (2) Elijah[81] (b. 31 Aug., 1816, d. 1 Sept., 1816); (3) David Brainerd[82] (b. 18 Oct., 1817, d. ſame day); (4) Henry Martyn,[83] b. 13 Aug., 1821; 19 Nov., 1844, m. Emeline, ſecond dau. of Simeon Palmer of Boſton; has had (1) Henry Morton,[84] b. 12 July, 1846; (2) Winifred[85] (b. 1 July, 1849, d. next day); (3) Liſſie Clarendon[86] (b. 20 Aug., 1851, d. 31 Dec., 1861); (4) Mary Palmer[87] (b. 21 Nov., 1856, d. 29 Oct., 1861).

Concerning not a few of thoſe whoſe names are here ſet down, many worthy and honorable deeds in Church and State might be recorded; as alſo of others known to be from the ſame ſtock, but of whoſe point of contact with the family-tree I am not ſure.

It is greatly to be deſired that ſome competent perſon ſhould enrich the genealogical hiſtories of New England with a complete and accurate record of the deſcendants of "G. Mourt" on theſe ſhores.

H. M. D.

HILLSIDE, Roxbury,
15 *July*, 1865.

A RELATION OR Iournall of the beginning and proceedings of the Engliſh Plantation ſettled at *Plimoth* in NEW ENGLAND, by certaine English Aduenturers both Merchants and others.

With their difficult paſſage, their ſafe ariual, their ioyfull building of, and comfortable planting themſelues in the now well defended Towne of NEW PLIMOTH.

AS ALSO A RELATION OF FOVRE ſeuerall diſcoueries ſince made by ſome of the ſame Engliſh Planters there reſident.

I. In a iourney to PVCKANOKICK *the habitation of the Indians greatest King* Maſſaſoyt: *as alſo their meſſage, the anſwer and entertainment they had of him.*

II. In a voyage made by ten of them to the Kingdome of Nawſet, *to ſeeke a boy that had loſt himſelfe in the woods: with ſuch accidents as befell them in that voyage.*

III. In their iourney to the Kingdome of Namaſchet, *in defence of their greateſt King* Maſſaſoyt, *againſt the* Narrohiggonſets, *and to reuenge the ſuppoſed death of their Interpreter* Tiſquantum.

IIII. Their voyage to the Maſſachuſets, *and their entertainement there.*

With an anſwer to all ſuch objections as are in any way made againſt the lawfulneſſe of Engliſh plantations in thoſe parts.

LONDON,
Printed for *Iohn Bellamie*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop at the two Greyhounds in Cornhill neere the Royall Exchange. 1622.

TO HIS MVCH RE-

ſpected *Friend*, Mr. *I. P.*[a]

GOod Friend: As wee cannot but account it an extraordinary bleſſing of God in directing our courſe for theſe parts, after we came out of our natiue countrey, for that we had the happineſſe to be poſſeſſed of the comforts we receiue by the benefit of one of the moſt pleaſant, moſt healthfull, and moſt fruitfull parts of the world: So muſt wee acknowledge the ſame bleſſing to bee multiplied vpon our whole company, for that we obtained the honour to receiue allowance and approbation of our free poſſeſſion, and enioying thereof vnder the authority of thoſe thrice honoured Perſons, the *Preſident* and *Counſell* for the affaires of *New-England*, by whoſe bounty and grace, in that behalfe, all of vs are tied to dedicate our beſt ſeruice vnto them, as thoſe under his Majeſtie, that wee owe it

[a] I. P. ſtands for John Peirce, "Citizen and Clothworker of London," who had intereſted himſelf to aſſiſt the Leyden men in coming over, and in whoſe name their firſt Patent was taken. — [See Deane's *Firſt Plymouth Patent*, 9.]

That the initials *R. G.*, appended by way of ſignature to this letter, were miſprinted, ſeems to be made certain by the fact that there was no perſon then in the Plymouth colony who bore them except Richard Gardiner, who was one of the humbler

vnto: whoſe noble endeuours in theſe their [iv] actions the God of heauen and earth multiply to his glory and their owne eternall comforts.

As for this poore Relation, I pray you to accept it, as being writ by the ſeuerall Actors themſelues, after their plaine and rude manner; therefore doubt

members of the party, and who, after a brief ſtay, left to become a ſailor. — [Bradford, *Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 454.] It is to the laſt degree improbable that he ſhould have been ſelected to introduce theſe Relations to the notice of the merchant adventurers.

Aſſuming, therefore, an error, the moſt probable rectification of it is found in the ſuppoſition that they ſhould have been "R. C.," ſtanding for Robert Cuſhman. In favor of ſuch a reading and interpretation are to be confidered: (*a*) that, as a paſſenger in the Fortune bearing the *Ms.* of the "Relation" to England, he would naturally have been ſelected to introduce it to the notice of thoſe likely to be intereſted in it there, unleſs ſome ſpecial reaſon exiſted to the contrary; (*b*) that, from his proved poſition as agent of the company and from his known culture, he was entitled to ſpeak, as he does here, in a tone of semi-criticiſm and deprecation of the plainneſs, and even rudeneſs, of the authors and their work. On the other hand, it may be ſuggeſted, (*a*) that the author identifies himſelf by his language ſomewhat more fully with the coloniſts, as one of them in all their experiences, than would ſeem to be natural for one who had only been actually with them during the few weeks of the Fortune's ſtay; (*b*) that he dates from *Plimoth*, as if ſending from thence; and (*c*) that his cloſing paragraph ſeems to intimate a leſs degree of acquaintance with Mr. Peirce than would be quite conſonant with the facts in the caſe, if Cuſhman were the writer.

But it is to be conſidered that as Cuſhman had come out expreſſly to examine and report upon the probabilities of the ſucceſs of the colony, the members of it would be moſt anxious for that beſt endorſement of it, which would conſiſt in his own aſſerted identification of himſelf with its fortunes, — which, indeed, he himſelf would feel to be moſt eſſential to its ſucceſs; and that, ſo feeling, — the more eſpecially as he had left his ſon behind him there, — he would naturally be led both to write and to date as he did. While, as to the cloſing paragraph, I interpret it not as intimating any lack of acquaintance with Mr. Peirce, but as aſſerting that the main recommendation which Cuſhman had to the "further conſideration" of the merchant adventurers for the colony which he repreſented, was in the

nothing of the truth thereof: if it be defectiue in any thing, it is their ignorance, that are better acquainted with planting then writing. If it ſatisfie thoſe that are well affected to the buſineſſe, it is all I care for. Sure I

encouragement of its final ſucceſs which was held out by the familiar facts recorded in theſe pages, now offered to the public notice.

It ſeems to be, therefore, as well ſettled as any ſuch queſtion can be, that Robert Cuſhman muſt have been the author of this introductory matter, as he was of the concluding "Reaſons and Conſiderations, &c."— [See pp. 143–154.]

The firſt appearance of Cuſhman upon the hiſtories of the time is in the Leyden records, where — deſcribed as a woolcarder from Canterbury, and as having had a former wife named Sarah — he is ſet down, $\frac{3}{13}$ June, 1617, as marrying Mary Singleton [Chingleton?] of Sandwich, widow of Thomas. Soon after, he was ſent to England with John Carver to open negotiations toward a ſettlement in North America. He ſeems to have returned to Leyden in November of the ſame year, and to have gone back to London on the ſame miſſion in the following December. Failing in theſe efforts, the Leyden church ſent him again, with Brewſter, in 1619; and, having formed an aſſociation, or joint-ſtock company, in England, which was to furniſh the money for the enterpriſe, thoſe envoys went back to Leyden to arrange the preliminaries. Carver and Cuſhman were ſent once more to England to provide for the voyage. When the Speedwell arrived at Southampton, Cuſhman, with the Mayflower, was in waiting for them, and ſailed as "aſſiſtant governor" in her, but went back in the Speedwell, when ſhe was finally condemned and returned, "his hart & courage" having gone before. He came over in the Fortune, with his ſon (ſee note 431, No. 9), probably as an agent of the adventurers to examine and report the condition of the colony. While here, — though not even an elder of the church, — he preached the famous ſermon on "Self-Love," which has been many times reprinted; and next day ſailed for England again in the ſame little ſhip, leaving his ſon in care of Gov. Bradford; was captured by the French; releaſed, and reached London $\frac{17}{27}$ Feb., $16\frac{21}{22}$.

He evidently carried with him the *Ms.* of theſe "Relations," and appended to them, when George Morton procured their publication, a diſſertation, intended to perſuade good men to become coloniſts. He never reviſited this country, but acted as the agent for the Pilgrims in London until his death, which occurred not far from the beginning of 1625. His ſon perpetuated his name in this country. — [*Leyden Ms. Rec.; Cuſhman Genealogy*, 14–77; Bradford, *Hiſt Plym. Plant.*, 70–74.]

am the place we are in, and the hopes that are apparent, cannot but ſuffice any that will not deſire more then enough, neither is there want of ought among vs but company to enjoy the bleſſings ſo plentifully beſtowed upon the inhabitants that are here. While I was a writing this, I had almoſt forgot, that I had but the recommendation of the relation it ſelfe, to your further conſideration, and therefore I will end without ſaying more, ſaue that I ſhall alwaies reſt

From PLIMOTH in
New-England.

Yours in the way of
friendſhip, R. G. [v]

To the Reader.

COurteous Reader, *be intreated to make a fauorable conſtruction of my forwardnes, in publiſhing theſe inſeuing diſcourſes, the deſire of carrying the Goſpell of Chriſt into thoſe forraigne parts, amongſt thoſe people that as yet haue had no knowledge, nor taſt of God, as alſo to procure vnto themſelues and others a quiet and comfortable habytation: weare amongſt other things the inducements (vnto theſe vndertakers of the then hopefull, and now experimentally knowne good enterprice for plantation, in* New England, *to ſet afoote and proſecute the ſame & though it fared with them, as it is common to the moſt actions of this nature, that the firſt attemps proue diffecult, as the ſequell more at large expreſſeth, yet it hath pleaſed God, euē beyond our expectation in ſo ſhort a time, to giue hope of letting ſome of them ſee (though ſome he hath taken out of this vale of teares) ſome grounds of hope, of the accompliſhment of both thoſe endes by them, at firſt propounded.*

And as myſelfe then much deſired, and ſhort- [vi] *ly hope to effect, if the Lord will, the putting to of my ſhoulder iu this hopefull buſineſs, and in the meane time, theſe relations comming to my hand from my both known &*

faithful friends, on whoſe writings I do much rely, I thought it not a miſſe to make them more generall, hoping of a cheerefull proceeding, both of Aduenturers and planters, intreating that the exawple of the hon: Virginia *and* Bermudas *Companies, incountering with ſo many diſtaſters, and that for diuers yeares together, with an vnwearied reſolution, the good effects whereof are now eminent, may preuaile as a ſpurre of preparation alſo touching this no leſſe hopefull Country though yet an infant, the extent & cõmodities whereof are as yet not fully known, after time wil vnfould more: ſuch as deſire to take knowledge of things, may in forme themſelues by this inſuing treatiſe, and if they pleaſe alſo by ſuch as haue bin there a firſt and ſecond time,*[b] *my harty prayer to God is that the euent of this and all other honorable and honeſt vndertakings, may be for the furtherance of the kingdome of Chriſt, the inlarging of the bounds of our Soueraigne Lord King* Iames, *& the good and profit of thoſe, who either by purſe, or perſon, or both, are agents in the ſame, ſo I take leaue and reſt*

Thy friend, G. Movrt.[c]

[vii]

[b] Capt. John Smith had been there, as had Clark and Coppin, maſter's mates of the Mayflower, more than once; while Cuſhman had juſt returned from his voyage thither for a firſt and only viſit, in the Fortune.

[c] The probabilities that this was the ſignature of George Morton have been fully diſcuſſed in the Introduction. See page xviii.

CERTAINE VSEFVL ADVERTISEMENTS SENT in a Letter written by a diſcreete friend[d] vnto the Planters in *New England*, at their firſt ſetting *ſaile from Southhampton, who earneſtly deſireth the proſperitie of that their new Plantation.*

* *
*

OVing and Chriſtian friends, I doe heartily and in the Lord ſalute you all, as being they with whom I am preſent in my beſt affection, and moſt earneſt longings after you, though I be conſtrained for a while to be bodily abſent from you,[e] I ſay conſtrained, God knowing how willingly and much rather then otherwiſe I would haue haue borne my part with you in this firſt brunt, were I not by ſtrong neceſſitie held backe for the preſent. Make account of me in the meane while, as of a man

[d] This letter of John Robinſon's is given in Bradford [*Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, pp. 64–67], and alſo in Morton [*N. E. Mem.*, 6–9]. It was probably written in the latter part of July, 1620.

[e] Bradford has a period here; Morton a colon.

deuided in my felfe with great paine, and as (naturall bonds ſet aſide) hauing my better part with you. And though I doubt not but in your godly wiſedomes you both foreſee and reſolue vpon that which concerneth your preſent [viii] ſtate and condition both ſeuerally and ioyntly, yet haue I thought [f] but my dutie to adde ſome further ſpurre of prouocation vnto them who run already, if not becauſe you need it, yet becauſe I owe it in loue and dutie.

And firſt, as we are daily to renew our repentance with our God, ſpeciall[g] for our ſinnes knowne, and generall for our vnknowne treſpaſſes; ſo doth the Lord call vs in a ſingular maner vpon occaſions of ſuch difficultie and danger as lieth vpon you, to a both more narrow ſearch and carefull reformation of our[h] wayes in his ſight, leſt he calling to remembrance our ſinnes forgotten by vs or vnrepented of, take aduantage againſt vs, and in iudgement leaue vs for the ſame to be ſwallowed vp in one danger or other; whereas on the contrary, ſin being taken away by earneſt repentance and the pardon thereof from the Lord, ſealed vp vnto a mans conſcience by his Spirit, great ſhall be his ſecuritie and peace in all dangers, ſweete his comforts in all diſtreſſes, with happie deliuerance from all euill, whether in life or in death.

[f] Bradford and Morton both add "it."

[g] Bradford and Morton both read "eſpecially."

[h] Bradford and Morton both read "your."

Now next after this heauenly peace with God and our owne conſciences, we are carefully to prouide for peace with all men what in vs lieth, eſpecially with our aſſociciates, and for that end[i] watchfulnes muſt be had, that we neither at all in our ſelues do giue, no nor eaſily take offence being giuen by others. Woe be vnto the world for offences, for though it be neceſſary (conſidering the malice of Satan and mans corruption) that offences come, yet woe vnto the man or woman either by whom [ix] the offence cometh, ſaith Chriſt, Math. 18. 7. And if offences in the vnſeaſonable vſe of things in themſelues indifferent, be more to be feared then death it ſelfe, as the Apoſtle teacheth, 1. Cor. 9. 15. how much more in things ſimply euill, in which neither honour of God nor loue of man is thought worthy to be regarded.

Neither yet is it ſufficient that we keep our ſelues by the grace of God from giuing offence, except withall we be armed againſt the taking of them when they are[j] giuen by others.[k] For how vnperfect and lame is the worke of grace in that perſon, who wants charitie to couer a multitude of offences, as the Scriptures ſpeake. Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace onely vpon the common grounds of Chriſtianitie, which are, that perſons ready to take offence, either want charitie to couer offences, or wiſedome duly to weigh humane frailtie; or

i Bradford and Morton both omit "end."

j Bradford has "be."

k Morton has a colon here.

laſtly are groſſe, though cloſe hypocrites, as Chriſt our Lord teacheth, Math. 7. 1, 2, 3. as indeed in mine owne experience, few or none haue beene found which ſooner giue offence, then ſuch as eaſily take it; neither haue they euer proued ſound and profitable members in ſocieties, which haue nouriſhed in themſelues that touchey humour.[1] But beſides theſe there are diuers ſpetiall[m] motiues prouoking you aboue others to great care and conſcience this way: As firſt, you are many of you ſtrangers, as to the perſons, ſo to the infirmities one of another, and ſo ſtand in need of more watchfulneſſe this way, leſt when ſuch things fall out in men and women as you ſuſpected not, you be inordinately af- [x] fected with them; which doth require at your hands much wiſedome and charitie for the couering and preuenting of incident offences that way. And laſtly your intended courſe of ciuill communitie[n] wil miniſter continuall occaſion of offence, and will be as fuell for that fire, except you diligently quench it with brotherly forbearance. And if taking of offence cauſleſly or eaſily at mens doings be ſo carefully to be auoided, how much more heed is to be taken that we take not offence at God himſelfe, which yet we certainly

[1] Bradford reads, "which have nuriſhed this touchey humor;" Morton, "who have nouriſhed this touchy humour."

[m] Bradford and Morton both omit "ſpetiall."

[n] I cannot interpret this otherwiſe than as an intimation that the Pilgrims left Holland with the full intention of eſtabliſhing here a popular civil government; with the good will, if not at the prompting, of their noble paſtor. And the "laſtly" clauſe of this letter confirms this view.

do ſo oft[o] as we do murmure at his prouidence in our croſſes, or beare impatiently ſuch afflictions as wherewith he pleaſeth to viſit vs. Store we[p] vp therefore patience againſt the euill day, without which we take offence at the Lord himſelfe in his holy and iuſt works.

A fourth thing there is carefully to be prouided for, to wit, that with your common emploiments you ioyne common affections truly bent vpon the generall good, auoiding as a deadly plague of your both common and ſpeciall comfort all retiredneſſe of minde for proper aduantage, and all ſingularly affected any maner of way; let euery man repreſſe in himſelfe and the whole bodie in each perſon, as ſo many rebels againſt the common good, all priuate reſpects of mens ſelues, not ſorting with the generall conueniencie. And as men are carefull not to haue a new houſe ſhaken with any violence before it be well ſettled and the parts firmly knit:[q] ſo be you, I beſeech you brethren, much more carefull, that the houſe of God which you are and are [xi] to be, be not ſhaken with vnneceſſary nouelties or other oppoſitions at the firſt ſettling thereof.

Laſtly, whereas you are to[r] become a body politik, vſing amongſt your ſelues ciuill gouernment, and are not furniſhed with any perſons of ſpeciall eminencie aboue

o Bradford has "oftē" (often).
p Bradford and Morton both omit "we."
q Bradford has a comma.
r Bradford omits "to."

the reſt, to be choſen by you into office of gouernment:[s] Let your wiſedome and godlineſſe appeare, not onely in chuſing ſuch perſons as do entirely loue, and will diligently promote the common good, but alſo in yeelding vnto them all due honour and obedience in their lawfull adminiſtrations; not beholding in them the ordinarineſſe of their perſons, but God's ordinance for your good;[t] nor being like vnto the fooliſh multitude,[u] who more honour the gay coate, then either the vertuous mind of the man, or glorious ordinance of the Lord. But you know better things, and that the image of the Lords power and authoritie which the Magiſtrate beareth, is honorable, in how meane perſons ſoeuer. And this dutie you both may the more willingly, and ought the more conſcionably to performe, becauſe you are at leaſt for the preſent to haue onely them for your ordinary gouernours, which your ſelues ſhall make choiſe of for that worke.[v]

Sundrie other things of importance I could put you in mind of, and of thoſe before mentioned in more words, but I will not ſo far wrong your godly minds, as to thinke you heedleſſe of theſe things, there being alſo diuers among you ſo well able to admoniſh both themſelues and others of what concerneth them. Theſe few things therefore, and [xii] the ſame in few words I do earneſtly com-

[s] Bradford has a comma; Morton a ſemicolon.

[t] Bradford has a comma; Morton a colon.

[u] Bradford and Morton both have it, "not being like the fooliſh multitude."

[v] See note 28 *poſt*.

mend vnto your care and conſcience, ioyning therewith my daily inceſſant prayers vnto the Lord, that he who hath made the heauens and the earth, the ſea and all riuers of waters, and whoſe prouidence is ouer all his workes, eſpecially ouer all his deare children for good, would ſo guide and guard you in your wayes, as inwardly by his Spirit, ſo outwardly by the hand of his power, as that both you and we alſo, for and with you, may haue after matter of praiſing his Name all the days of your and our liues. Fare you well in him in whom you truſt, and in whom I reſt

An vnfained well-willer
of your happie ſucceſſe
in this hopefull voyage,

I. R.

A RELATION OR IOVRNALL OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE Plantation ſetled at *Plimoth* in New England.[1]

Edneſday the ſixt of *September*, the Wind comming Eaſt North Eaſt,[2] a fine ſmall gale, we looſed from *Plimoth*, hauing beene kindly intertained and curteouſly vſed by diuers friends there dwelling, and after many difficulties in boyſterous ſtormes, at length by Gods prouidence vpon the ninth of *Nouem-*

[1] Leaving Leyden in the latter part of July, 1620, the Pilgrims had arrived in the Speedwell at Southampton, Eng., and there met the Mayflower; ſailed thence on *Saturday*, $\frac{5}{15}$ Aug.; put back into Dartmouth on account of the alleged leakage of the Speedwell, about *Sunday*, $\frac{13}{23}$ Aug.; ſailed again about *Wedneſday*, $\frac{23\ \text{Aug.}}{2\ \text{Sept.}}$; but, after they were one hundred leagues from Land's End, put back once more on account of the aſſerted condition of the Speedwell, — this time into Plymouth, where ſhe was diſmiſſed, a portion of the company ſent back in her to London, and the remainder — 102 perſons — ſailed in the Mayflower on *Wedneſday*, $\frac{6}{16}$ Sept.

[2] *Eaſt north eaſt* was the faireſt poſſible wind for leaving Plymouth, as the direct courſe down the Sound to the Channel, and thence toward the open ſea, would not be far from S. W. by S. and W. S. W.

ber[3] following, by breake of the day we eſpied land which we deemed to be *Cape Cod*, and ſo afterward it proued. And the appearance of it much comforted vs, eſpecially, ſeeing ſo goodly a Land, and woodded to the brinke of the ſea,[4] it cauſed vs to reioyce together, and praiſe God that had giuen vs once againe to ſee land. And thus wee made our courſe South South Weſt,[5] purpoſing to goe to a Riuer ten leagues [2] to the South of the Cape,[6] but at night the winde being contrary,[7] we put round againe

3 *Thurſday*, $\frac{9}{19}$ Nov.

4 The reader who is familiar with the deſolate aſpect of the Cape at the preſent time, muſt throw himſelf back in imagination to the time when a comely if not luxuriant growth of trees and foreſt vegetation relieved that deſolation, in order to underſtand the feelings here expreſſed.

5 Bradford ſays, "they tacked aboute and reſolved to ſtande for ye ſouthward (ye wind & weather being faire) to finde ſome place aboute Hudſons river for their habitation."—[*Hiſtory of Plymouth Plantation*, 77.] Even with the greateſt poſſible offing when they made land, they could hardly have ſteered long in a S. S.W. courſe, as it would have brought them directly on to the cape. An error of the preſs for ſouth-ſouth-*eaſt* is not improbable.

6 Their ideas of the relative poſitions of moſt points on the New England ſhore were then of the vagueſt.

7 Bradford ſays, "After they had ſailed yt courſe aboute halfe ye day, they fell amongſt deangerous ſhoulds and roring breakers, and they were ſo farr intangled ther with as they conceived them ſelves in great danger; & ye wind ſhrinking upon them withall, they reſolved to bear up againe for the Cape, and thought them ſelves hapy to gett out of thoſe dangers before night overtooke them, as by God's Providence they did."—[*Hiſt. Plym. Plant.* 77.] Dr. Palfrey ſuggeſts [*Hiſt. N. E.*, i. 162] that theſe "ſhoulds" might be thoſe of Monomoy, near Chatham, or Nantucket Shoals. Dr. Young took the ſame view [*Chron. of Plym.* 103]. But Mr. Amos Otis and Prof. Agaſſiz have made it much more probable [*N. E. Hiſt. and Gen. Reg.* xviii. 42–44] that they were thoſe around what Goſnold named *Point Care* and *Tucker's Terror* [ſee Archer's *Account of Goſnold's Voyage*, 3 *Maſs. Hiſt. Col.*, viii. 74], off Eaſtham and Orleans; ſince obliterated by the action of the ſea. The map of New England in Ogilby's huge folio lays down "Iſle Nauſet" in the preciſe ſpot aſſigned by Mr. Otis.

for the Bay of *Cape Cod:* and vpon the 11. of *Nouember*,[8] we came to an anchor in the Bay,[9] which is a good harbour and pleaſant Bay, circled round, except in the entrance, which is about foure miles ouer from land to land,[10] compaſſed about to the very Sea with Okes, Pines, Iuniper, Saſſafras, and other ſweet wood; it is a harbour wherein 1000. ſaile of Ships may ſafely ride,[11] there we relieued our ſelues with wood and water, and refreſhed our people, while our ſhallop was fitted to coaſt the Bay, to ſearch for an habitation: there was the greateſt ſtore of fowle[12] that euer we ſaw.

And euery day we ſaw Whales[13] playing hard by vs, of

8 *Saturday*, $\frac{11}{21}$ Nov.

9 Provincetown harbor.

10 As the inner ſhore of the Cape trends away S. E. by S., the diſtance acroſs the entrance varies, according to the angle at which it is taken, from $2\frac{1}{8}$ miles, which is the neareſt line from Long Point light to the Eaſt-harbor ſhore, to $5\frac{1}{8}$ miles, from the ſame light to the opening of Pamet River, in Truro.

11 The changes of near two centuries and a half have not abridged this capacity. Freeman ſays [*Hiſtory of Cape Cod*, ii. 619], "the harbor is ſufficiently capacious for 3000 veſſels, and is a haven of the greateſt importance to navigation, whether as reſpects veſſels doing buſineſs in the neighboring waters, or ſhips from foreign voyages arriving on the coaſt in thick and ſtormy weather."

12 "Sea-fowl are plenty on the ſhores and in the bay; particularly the gannet, curlew, brant, black-duck, ſea-duck, old wife, dipper, ſheldrake, penguin, gull, plover, coot, widgeon, and peep."—[1 *Maſs. Hiſt. Col.*, iii. 199.]

13 Douglaſs ſays of the whales, "Formerly they ſet in along ſhore by Cape Cod" [*Summary*, &c., i. 60]. So he elſewhere adds, "Formerly (they are paſſengers according to the ſeaſons), in New England, Cape Cod embayed them" [*Ibid.* i. 296]; and Freeman ſays, "The ſhores of the Cape were, within the remembrance of perſons now living, ſtrewed in places with huge bones of whales, theſe remaining unwaſted many years. Fifty years back, rib-bones ſet for poſts in fencing was no unuſual ſight."—[*Hiſt. Cape Cod*, ii. 623.]

which in that place, if we had inſtruments & meanes to take them, we might haue made a very rich returne, which to our great griefe we wanted. Our maſter and his mate, and others experienced in fiſhing, profeſſed, we might haue made three or foure thouſand pounds worth of Oyle; they preferred it before Greenland Whale-fiſhing, & purpoſe the next winter to fiſh for Whale here; for Cod we aſſayed, but found none, there is good ſtore no doubt in their ſeaſon.[14] Neither got we any fiſh all the time we lay there, but ſome few little ones on the ſhore. We found great Muſsles,[15] and very fat and full of

14 It is not likely that they fiſhed outſide of the harbor; nor would they have caught cod, even there, at that time of the year. They probably took only the ſmall "bar-fiſh," as they are now called, which are caught in the eaſt end of the harbor.

15 Dr. Freeman and Dr. Young ſuppoſed that the giant clam, or ſea-hen, *(mactra ſolidiſſima)* is here referred to. But Capt. Smith — whoſe *Deſcription of New England*, publiſhed in 1616, muſt have been in the hands of the Mayflower men, and their chief authority and guide — ſpeaks of clams *(clampes)* as found, with lobſters, in almoſt all the ſandy bays; ſo that they would moſt likely have known that fiſh by that name. Muſſels *(mytilus edulis)* they were familiar with at home; and as theſe are found in abundance about low-water mark in Long Point, near their anchorage, while the giant clam is only found on the bars at the eaſt end of Provincetown, and along the Truro ſhore, and is acceſſible only at the loweſt tides, and would ſeem, therefore, to have been ſo much more removed from their ready diſcovery, it is perhaps moſt probable that muſſels, of a ſize to them unfamiliar, — probably the *mytilus modiolus*, — were what they meant. The hearty eating of theſe, after ſixty-four days of ſalt provender, might produce the deſcribed effects upon their ſyſtems; indeed, under any circumſtances, at certain ſeaſons, ſuch reſults might follow. "There can be no doubt of the poiſonous qualities of ſhellfiſh, particularly muſſels and clams, at certain ſeaſons." — [Dr. Benj. Haſkell, of Rockport, in Appendix to Muſſey's *Health, its Friends and its Foes*, p. 369.] The mention of "pearls" — which are plentifully found in muſſels, but not in clams — confirms this view.

Sea pearle, but we could not eat them, for they made vs all ſicke that did eat, as well ſaylers as paſſengers; they cauſed to caſt and ſcoure, but they were ſoone well againe. The bay is ſo round & circling, that before we could come to anchor, we went round all the points of the Compaſſe. We could not come neere the ſhore by three quarters of an Engliſh mile, becauſe of ſhallow water,[16] which was a great preiudice to vs, for our people going on ſhore were forced to wade a bow ſhoot or two in going a-land, which cauſed many to get colds and coughs, for it was ny times freezing cold weather.

This day before we came to harbour, obſeruing ſome not well affected to vnitie and concord, but gaue ſome appearance of faction,[17] it was thought good there ſhould

[16] "As there are flats extending ſome diſtance from the ſettlement, veſſels uſually anchor about three fourths of a mile from the ſhore."—[Freeman, *Hiſt. Cape Cod*, ii. 619.] The Provincetown ſhore is what is referred to. It will be ſeen further along that the Mayflower anchored in deep water within a furlong of Long Point.

[17] Says Bradford, "I ſhall a litle returne backe and begine with a combination made by them before they came aſhore, being ye firſt foundation of their govermente in this place; occaſioned partly by ye diſcontented & mutinous ſpeeches that ſome of the ſtrangers amongſt them [i. e. not Leyden men, but adventurers who joined them in England] had let fall from them in ye ſhip, That when they came a ſhore they would uſe their owne libertie; for none had power to command them, the patente they had being for Virginia, and not for New-england, which belonged to an other Government, with which ye Virginia Company had nothing to doe. And partly that ſhuch an acte by them done (this their condition conſidered) might be as firme as any patent, and in ſome reſpects more ſure."—[*Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 89.] Morton ſays, "It was thought meet for their more orderly carrying on of their Affairs, and accordingly by mutual conſent they entred into a ſolemn Combination as a Body Politick, To ſubmit to ſuch Government and Governours, Laws

be an aſſociation and agreement, that we ſhould combine together [3] in one body, and to ſubmit to ſuch government and governours, as we ſhould by common conſent agree to make and choſe, and ſet our hands to this that followes word for word.

IN the name of God, Amen. We whoſe names are vnderwritten, the loyall Subiects of our dread ſoveraigne Lord King IAMES, by the grace of God of Great *Britaine*, *France*, and *Ireland* King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Having vnder-taken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Chriſtian Faith, and [18] honour of our King and Countrey, a Voyage to plant the firſt Colony in the Northerne parts of VIRGINIA, doe by theſe preſents ſolemnly & mutually in the preſence of *God* and one of [19] another, covenant, and combine our ſelues together into a civill body politike, for our better ordering and preſervation, and furtherance of the ends aforeſaid; and by vertue hereof to [20] enact, conſtitute, and frame ſuch iuſt and equall Lawes, Ordinances, acts, conſtitutions, [21] offices from time to time, as ſhall be thought moſt meet and convenient for the generall good of the Colony: vnto

and Ordinances, as ſhould by a general Conſent from time to time be made choice of, and aſſented unto." —[*N. E. Memorial*, 1ſt ed., p. 14.]

[18] Morton inſerts "the."—[*N. E. Memorial*, p. 15.]

[19] Morton leaves out "of."

[20] Morton has "do" inſtead of "to;" evidently an error of the preſs.

[21] Bradford [*Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 90] and Morton both inſert "and" here; but Morton miſprints "officers."

which we promiſe all due ſubmiſſion and obedience. In witneſſe whereof we haue here-vnder[22] ſubſcribed our names,[23] *Cape Cod*[24] 11. of *November*, in the yeare of[25] the raigne of our ſoveraigne Lord King IAMES, of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*[26] 18. and of *Scotland* 54. *Anno Domino* 1620.[27]

[22] Morton ſays, "hereunto."

[23] Bradford and Morton both here inſert "at."

[24] Bradford and Morton both inſert "the."

[25] Morton leaves out the words "the yeare of."

[26] Bradford and Morton both here inſert "the," and again before "54;" and read "18th" and "54th."

[27] The names of the ſigners of this moſt intereſting and ſignificant document were firſt printed by Nathaniel Morton, in 1669, in the *New-England Memorial*. As corrected by Prince, and illuſtrated by Bradford in the Appendix to his Hiſtory, they ſtand as follows, with the number repreſented by each, and the names of their families: viz.,—

1. John Carver (8).
   Catherine, his wife.
   Deſire Minter.
   John Howland, Roger Wilder, } men-ſervants.
   William Latham, Jaſper More, } boys.
   A maid-ſervant.
2. William Bradford (2).
   Dorothy, his wife.
3. Edward Winſlow (5).
   Elizabeth, his wife.
   George Soule, Elias Story, } men-ſervants.
   Ellen More.
4. William Brewſter (6).
   Mary, his wife.
   Love, Wreſtling, } ſons.
   Richard More, ——— More, } boys.
5. Iſaac Allerton (6).
   Mary, his wife.
   Bartholomew, Remember, Mary, } children.
   John Hooke, boy.
6. Miles Standiſh (2).
   Roſe, his wife.
7. John Alden (1).
8. Samuel Fuller (1). [His ſervant, William Butten, had d. at ſea.]
9. Chriſtopher Martin (4).
   ———, his wife.
   Solomon Prower, John Langemore, } men-ſervants.
10. William Mullins (5).
   ———, his wife.
   Joſeph, Priſcilla, } children.
   Robert Carter, ſervant.

The ſame day ſo ſoon as we could we ſet a-ſhore 15. or 16. men, well armed, with ſome to fetch wood, for we

11. William White (5).
    Suſanna, his wife.
    Reſolved, ſon.
    William Holbeck, } men-
    Edward Thomſon, } ſervants.
12. Richard Warren (1).
13. John Howland. [Of John Carver's family above.]
14. Stephen Hopkins (8).
    Elizabeth, his wife.
    Giles, }
    Conſtance, } chil-
    Damaris, } dren.
    Oceanus, b. at ſea. }
    Edward Doten, } men-
    Edward Leiſter, } ſervants.
15. Edward Tilley (4).
    Ann, his wife.
    Henry Samſon, } children in
    Humility Cooper, } their care.
16. John Tilley (3).
    ———, his wife.
    Elizabeth, daughter.
17. Francis Cook (2).
    John, his ſon.
18. Thomas Rogers (2).
    Joſeph, his ſon.
19. Thomas Tinker (3).
    ———, his wife.
    ———, ſon.
20. John Ridgdale (2).
    Alice, his wife.
21. Edward Fuller (3).
    Ann, his wife.
    Samuel, ſon.
22. John Turner (3).
    ———, } ſons.
    ———, }
23. Francis Eaton (3).
    Sarah, his wife.
    Samuel, ſon.
24. James Chilton (3).
    ———, his wife.
    Mary, daughter.
25. John Crackſtone (2).
    John, his ſon.
26. John Billington (4).
    Ellen, his wife.
    John, } ſons.
    Francis, }
27. Moſes Fletcher (1).
28. John Goodman (1).
29. Digory Prieſt (1).
30. Thomas Williams (1).
31. Gilbert Winſlow (1).
32. Edmond Margeſon (1).
33. Peter Brown (1).
34. Richard Britteridge (1).
35. George Soule. [Of Ed. Winſlow's family above.]
36. Richard Clark (1).
37. Richard Gardiner (1).
38. John Allerton (1).
39. Thomas Engliſh (1).
40. Edward Doten. [Of Stephen Hopkins's family above.]
41. Edward Leiſter. [Do.]

This liſt of Morton's adds up to *forty-one* ſigners; who, according to Bradford's liſt, at this date, repreſented exactly *one hundred* perſons. Bradford adds [*Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 450], "There were allſo other 2 ſeamen hired to ſtay a year here in the country, — William Trevore, and one Ely.

had none left;[28] as alſo to ſee what the Land was, and what Inhabitants they could meet with, they found it[29]

But when their time was out they both returned." As they were thus to be merely temporary reſidents, they were not probably requeſted to ſign the compact, which looked forward toward ſome permanent government here.

It will be noticed that while one of Carver's men-ſervants, one of Winſlow's, and both of Hopkins's, affixed their names to this paper; the other ſervant of Carver (Roger Wilder), the other of Winſlow (Elias Story), with the two of Chriſtopher Martin (Solomon Prower and John Langemore), the two of William White (William Holbeck and Edward Thomſon), and that of William Mullins (Robert Carter), — ſeven in all, — did not ſign it. Some have conjectured that the names of all the adult male members of the company not found there ſhould be added to Morton's liſt; but as keeper — in his official capacity — of the public records, from 1645 to 1685, there is a ſtrong probability that the Secretary had in his poſſeſſion, and copied from, the original compact with its actual ſignatures, — a document which, from the nature of the caſe, they would have taken pains to preſerve. It is poſſible that ſuch of the ſervants only as, on the one hand, ſpecially deſerved the honor, or, on the other, ſpecially needed the reſtraint, of becoming parties to ſuch an agreement, were invited to ſign it; to the former of which claſſes one might fancy John Howland to belong, and to the latter, Edward Doten and Edward Leiſter. It is more probable — as Bradford ſays [*Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 450–52] theſe ſeven all died ſoon — that they were ailing at this time, and ſo out of the way at the ſigning.

Counting the two hired ſeamen, the entire Mayflower company — as diſtinct from her crew — conſiſted thus of *one hundred and two* perſons.

[28] Prince [*Annals*, ed. 1736, p. 73] ſays, referring to Bradford's authority, they on the ſame day "choſe Mr. John Carver, a pious and well approved gentleman, their *Governor* for the firſt year." But Bradford [*Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 90] ſays, "*After this* they choſe, or rather confirmed, Mr. John Carver, &c.," whom Morton exactly copies [*N. E. Memorial*, 16]. So that I do not find here any abſolute proof that the election of Carver took place on the ſame day on which the compact was ſigned; the more eſpecially as Bradford immediately connects his ſtatement, juſt quoted, with ſome particulars which did not take place until after the commencement of the ſettlement at Plymouth. It is moſt reaſonable to ſuppoſe, however, — in the abſence of any evidence to the contrary, — that the election of ſome perſon as chief magiſtrate would immediately follow the formal recognition of a body corporate.

[29] Dr. Young endorſes Dr. Freeman [1 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.*, viii. 206] in the judgment that this party landed on

to be a ſmall neck of Land; on this ſide where we lay is the *Bay*, and the further ſide the Sea; the ground or earth, ſand hils, much like the Downes in *Holland*, but much better;[30] the cruſt of the earth a Spits depth, excellent blacke earth;[31] all wooded with Okes, Pines, Saſſafras, Iuniper, Birch, Holly, Vines, ſome Aſh, Walnut;[32]

Long Point, and that their explorations were mainly confined to the neck which ſeparates Provincetown harbor from Cape Cod Bay. But it ſeems to me far from improbable that they landed not far from Stevens's Point, and that their explorations extended acroſs the end of the Cape, between Race Point and Wood End, ſo that by the ſea on "the further ſide" they meant the Atlantic, and not "Barnſtable Bay," as Dr. Freeman conſidered. They ſtarted, probably, early in the day, and were gone till night, ſo that they had time to roam largely over that weſtern half of Provincetown, the whole of which is only 3½ miles in extreme length, by an average of not much over 2 in breadth; the more eſpecially as the wooded portion was clear of underbruſh, and ſo "fit to goe or ride in." One object they had in view was to find inhabitants; but one would think they muſt have been well aſſured, by the view which they got of Long Point in ſailing round it into harbor, whether there were inhabitants there or not.

30 That portion of Holland with which the Pilgrims had become familiar, ſkirting the North Sea, abounds in ſand *dunes* ſimilar to thoſe on the New-England coaſt; it being eſtimated that they have an extent there of 140.000 acres.—[Marſh's *Man and Nature*, p. 507.]

31 "*Spit-deep*, as deep as the table of a ſpade; as much ground in depth as may be digged up at once with a ſpade."—[*Bailey*.] Where the trees and bruſh have not been removed, or buried under the ſand which every wind blows in from the beach, this "blacke earth," a dark vegetable mold, the collection of centuries, ſtill remains. The change, from that day of fertility to the preſent extenſive barrenneſs and deſolation of the Cape, is primarily due to the removal of the trees. [See an eloquent, as well as profound, diſcuſſion of the ſubject in Marſh's *Man and Nature*, ſummed up, pp. 214–217.]

32 That the Cape was formerly covered with large trees is proved, (1) from the fact that their ſtumps now occaſionally appear, when the ſuperincumbent ſand is blown off by ſome high wind; (2) by the teſtimony of the moſt aged inhabitants, who well remember the vandaliſm which cut them down for the purpoſe of making

the wood for the moſt part open and without vnder-wood, fit either to goe or ride in: at night our people retur-
[4] ned, but found not any perſon, nor habitation, and laded their Boat with Iuniper, which ſmelled very ſweet & ſtrong, and of which we burnt the moſt part of the time we lay there.

Munday the 13. of *November*,[33] we vnſhipped our Shallop and drew her on land, to mend and repaire her, having bin forced to cut her downe in beſtowing her betwixt the decks, and ſhe was much opened with the peoples

charcoal with which to boil down ſea-water to ſalt; (3) by the actual preſence, in the eaſt part of the village of Provincetown, of a few ſurviving repreſentatives of the old growth. Moſt if not all of the growths mentioned in this "Relation" are ſtill found in Provincetown and its vicinity. Thoſe here ſpecified appear to be the following: viz., —

Oaks (white), *Quercus alba* (now moſt common).
(red), *Quercus rubra.*
(black), *Quercus tinctoria.*
Pine (pitch) *Pinus rigida.*
Saſſafras, *Saſſafras officinale.*
Juniper (red cedar), *Juniperus Virginiana.*
Birch (white), *Betula populifolia.*
Holly (evergreen), *Ilex opaca.*
Aſh (white), *Fraxinus acuminata.*
Walnut (mockernut hickory), *Carya tomentoſa;* or (pig-nut hickory), *Carya porcina.*

The vines were, probably the common wild-grape *(Vitis labruſca)*, and perhaps the greenbrier *(Smilax rotundifolia)*, Virginian creeper, *(Ampelopſis quinquefolia)*, hairy honeyſuckle *(Lonicera hirſuta)*, and poiſon ivy *(Rhus toxicodendron)*. On what is called the "Iſland," about a mile weſt of Eaſt Harbor meadow, grape-vines ſtill grow which bear a ſmall, inferior grape, holding about the ſame relation to the cultivated grape that the beach-plum has to the garden plum.

Eighteen years before the Mayflower anchored here, Goſnold took on board, from this end of the Cape, for firewood, "cypreſs [juniper], birch, witch-hazel and beech."—[*Archer's Hiſt.*, in 3 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.*, viii. 74.] In 1614, Captain John Smith ſaw Cape Cod as "a headland of high hills of ſand, overgrown with ſhrubby pines, hurts [whortleberry-buſhes] and ſuch traſh." —[*Deſcription of New England*, in 3 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.*, vi. 119.]

[33] *Monday*, $\frac{13}{23}$ Nov.

lying in her,[34] which kept vs long there, for it was 16. or 17. dayes before the Carpenter had finiſhed her; our people went on ſhore to refreſh themſelues, and our women to waſh, as they had great need;[35] but whileſt we

34 Bradford ſays, "They having brought a large ſhalop with them out of England, ſtowed in quarters in ye ſhip, they now gott her out & ſett their carpenters to worke to trime her up; but being much bruſed & ſhattered in ye ſhipe wth foule weather, they ſaw ſhe would be longe in mending." — [*Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 80.]

35 There are no ſprings in Provincetown, and, from the fact, mentioned farther on, that the firſt exploring party drank their firſt draught of New-England water at the ſprings in Truro, it is clear that they had found no water which they eſteemed drinkable in Provincetown. The freſh-water pond now neareſt to the harbor is "Shank Painter," which is nearly half a mile from the preſent high-water mark, and which muſt then have been concealed from view from the deck of the Mayflower by the intervening foreſt. Where, then, did the women find water for their need of waſhing?

The changes of a peculiarly changeable region must be had in mind in giving an anſwer. A careful ſtudy of the topography of the locality has led to the concluſion that there was formerly a freſh-water pond of conſiderable ſize, ſeparated from the ſea by a narrow ſand-beach, which pond has become wholly obliterated, — on the lower ſide by the influx of the ſea, and on the upper ſide by the encroachments of the ſand. It was ſituated between the N. W. portion of High Hill and the preſent low-water mark, and muſt have been at leaſt a quarter of a mile in breadth by, ſay, ſeven-eighths in length: including in its upper half a ſection of the town, ſay from Union wharf on the S. W. to Cook's wharf on the eaſt; and in its lower half a conſiderable ſection of the preſent harbor, where veſſels now, at full ſea, come up between theſe wharves. The evidence in the caſe may be briefly ſtated thus: — (1) there is a ſtrip, low down on the flats, laid bare by the daily ebb, which may be traced as preſumably the foundation of the narrow beach, — the beach on which the women waſhed their clothes; (2) freſh-water mud, with peat, roots, and other traces of ſwamp growths, may ſtill be identified under the ſuperincumbent ſalt-mud and ſand within the embrace of the aforeſaid ſtrip, — the mud ſometimes being preſſed up to the ſurface through the ſubſequent ſand-layer, by the weight of veſſels reſting on the flats at low water; (3) in digging wells and reſervoirs in that portion of the village embraced within this area, there are found (*a*) ſand, (*b*) ſalt-water mud, (*c*) a few inches of ſand, (*d*) freſh-water

lay thus ſtill, hoping our Shallop would be ready in fiue or ſixe dayes at the furtheſt, but our Carpenter made ſlow worke of it, ſo that ſome of our people impatient of delay, deſired for our better furtherance to travaile by Land into the Countrey, which was not without appearance of danger, not having the Shallop with them, nor meanes to carry proviſion, but on their backes, to ſee whether it might be fit for vs to ſeate in or no, and the rather becauſe as we ſayled into the Harbour, there ſeemed to be a river opening it ſelfe into the maine land;[36] the willingnes of the perſons was liked, but the thing it ſelfe, in regard of the danger was rather permitted then approved, and ſo with cautions, directions, and inſtructions, ſixteene men were ſet out with every man his Muſket, Sword, and Corſlet,[37] vnder the conduct of Captaine *Miles Standiſh*,[38] vnto whom was adioyned for

mud, peat, &c., with occaſional ſtumps of trees, ſometimes of conſiderable ſize. That this pond — thus demonſtrated — exiſted in 1620, and that its narrow ſeparating beach had not been ſwept away in ſome fearful ſtorm which let in the all-devouring ocean before that time, is rendered nearly certain by the obſerved progreſs of the ſea during the laſt century; and various weighty circumſtances, for which we can not make room here, combine to produce the decided judgment that this progreſs of the ocean has been within the laſt century and a quarter.

[36] Pamet River, the mouth of which is diſtant 5⅛ miles S. E. by E. from Long Point light, and which, in 1794, was about 300 feet broad at the mouth, and wider within. — [1 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.*, iii. 196.]

[37] The corſelet was a piece of defenſive armor covering the breaſt from the neck to the girdle; in diſtinction from the cuiraſs, which added a back piece buckled on each ſide to the corſelet.

[38] *Miles Standiſh* is ſuppoſed to have been born at Duxbury Hall, near Chorley, in Lancaſhire, ſome twenty-three miles N. E. from Liverpool, in

counſell and adviſe, *William Bradford*,[39] *Stephen Hopkins*,[40] and *Edward Tilley*.[41]

1584; ſerved as a ſoldier in the Low Countries; became intereſted in the Pilgrims, and joined them, though not one of their church; brought over only his wife Roſe, who died a month after the landing; he next married Barbara ———, who is ſuppoſed to have come in the Ann, in 1623. He was conſtantly engaged in the public ſervice; was Aſſiſtant nineteen years; went to London for the colony in 1625, returning the following ſpring. About 1631 he ſettled on "Captain's Hill," in Duxbury, on condition, at firſt, of moving into Plymouth "in the winter time that they may the better repair to the worſhip of God;" there he died, $\frac{3}{13}$ Oct., 1656, aged 72. He named, in his will, four ſons — Alexander, Miles, Joſiah, and Charles — and a deceaſed daughter, Lora. — [Savage, *Gen. Dict.*, iv. 162; *Plym. Col. Rec.*, xii. 6; Winſor's *Hiſt. Duxbury*, 320; *N. E. Hiſt. and Gen. Reg.*, v. 335–338.]

39 *William Bradford* was the ſon of William and Alice (Hanſon) Bradford, and was born at Auſterfield, Eng., $\frac{19}{29}$ *March*, $15\frac{89}{90}$. Early uniting himſelf with the Scrooby movement, he went to Holland with the church; $\frac{30\text{ Nov.}}{10\text{ Dec.}}$, 1613, married, at Leyden, Dorothy May, of "Witzbuts" (Wiſbeach?), Eng., who was drowned at Cape Cod, $\frac{7}{17}$ Dec., 1620; next married, $\frac{14}{24}$ Aug., 1623, Alice (Carpenter) Southworth; had John, William, Mercy, and Joſeph; was choſen governor after the death of John Carver, and was governor every year until his death, except five; died at Plymouth, $\frac{9}{19}$ May, 1657, aged 67 years, 1 month, 20 days.—[Hunter's *Founders of New Plymouth*, 99–116, 198–9; Savage, *Gen. Dict.*, i. 231; *N. E. Hiſt. and Gen. Reg.*, iv. 45; *Leyden Mſs. Rec.*

40 *Stephen Hopkins* had married and had two children (Giles and Conſtance); loſt his wife, and married again Elizabeth ———, and had daughter Damaris and ſon Oceanus (born on the voyage), before the date of this mention. His ſecond wife lived above twenty years at Plymouth, and they had another ſon (Caleb) and four daughters (Deborah, Ruth, Elizabeth, ——). He was Aſſiſtant, 1633–6, and died in the latter part of June or firſt of July, 1644.—[Savage, *Gen. Dict.*, ii. 462; *N. E. Hiſt. and Gen. Reg.*, iv. 281.]

41 *Edward Tilley* came with his wife Ann and two children "that were their coſſens, Henery Samſon and Humillity Coper." He was probably alſo elder brother of John, who brought over his wife, and daughter Elizabeth. All of both families died in the firſt mortality, except Henry Samſon and Elizabeth Tilley; the former of whom married Ann Plummer, and had nine children; the latter, John Howland (Carver's ſervant), and had ten. — [Savage, *Gen. Dict.*, iv. 302; Bradford's *Plym. Plant.*, 449–453; Vinton's *Giles Memorial*, 374.]

Wedneſday the 15. of *November*,[42] they were ſet a ſhore,[43] and when they had ordered themſelues in the order of a ſingle File, and marched about the ſpace of a myle, by the Sea[44] they eſpyed fiue or ſixe people, with a Dogge, comming towards them, who were Savages, who when they ſaw them ran into the Wood and whiſled the Dogge after them, &c. Firſt, they ſuppoſed them to be maſter *Jones*, the Maſter[45] and ſome of his men, for they were a-ſhore, and knew of their comming, but after they knew them to be *Indians* they mar- [5] ched after them into the Woods,[46] leaſt other of the *Indians* ſhould lie in Ambuſh; but when the *Indians* ſaw our men following

[42] *Wedneſday*, $\frac{15}{25}$ Nov.

[43] From the facts, that they had, clearly, already landed at the pond on the Provincetown ſhore; that they more than once ſpeak of having to wade three-fourths of a mile in landing, while the water ſeems to have been bold at Long Point; and that for exploration they would naturally wiſh to ſave their ſtrength from vainly traverſing the entire length of Long Point; it ſeems evident that this party were ſet on ſhore ſomewhere near the preſent ſite of the village of Provincetown, moſt likely on the weſtern end of the beach where the women waſhed their clothes, near Payne's Hill.

[44] They probably ſtruck inland over Telegraph Hill, and ſo back of Mill Hill along the high land ſkirting the pond; when they ſaw the Indians approaching over the beach from the eaſt. The "ſpace of a myle" would have brought them nearly to the creſt of High Hill.

[45] Maſter Jones's firſt name does not appear. Thacher [*Hiſt. Plym.*, 48] ſays that he came over again, Aug., 1622, as maſter of the Diſcovery; but Bradford — who [*Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 68] calls the captain of the Mayflower "Mr. Joans," and refers to him four or five times afterward — ſpeaks [*Ibid.* 127] of the maſter of the Diſcovery as "*one* Captaine Jons," without any hint that it was the ſame man; ſo that I doubt if it were.

[46] The land around Duck Pond was, doubtleſs, then denſely wooded. I imagine that the Indians made for thoſe woods, and then ran out of them around the north end of Great Pond over toward Negro Head, and ſo to the eaſt towards Truro.

them, they ran away with might and mayne, and our men turned out of the Wood after them, for it was the way they intended to goe,[47] but they could not come neare them. They followed them that night about ten miles[48] by the trace of their footings, and ſaw how they had come the ſame way they went,[49] and at a turning perceived how they run vp an hill,[50] to ſee whether they followed them. At length night came vpon them, and they were conſtrained to take vp their lodging, ſo they ſet forth three Sentinells, and the reſt, ſome kindled a fire, and others fetched wood, and there held our Randevous that night.[51] In the morning[52] ſo ſoone as we could ſee the trace, we proceeded on our iourney, & had the tracke

47 If, on the previous Saturday, the exploring party ſurveyed the weſtern half of Provincetown, — as I have ſuggeſted, — it would be natural that they ſhould now intend to ſurvey the eaſtern; which would lead them over between Dutch and Great ponds to the ocean ſide, as they now went, after the Indians.

48 It is ſafe to judge that a man, be he Pilgrim or otherwiſe, who, with a heavy matchlock, ſword, and corſelet, runs a half mile on Cape Cod, even in its beſt eſtate, will feel as if he had run a mile, and eſtimate diſtances accordingly. This party, if they followed the Indians north between the ponds, and then eaſt to the neighborhood of Stout's Creek, — making allowance for all their probable windings, — muſt have marched not far from ſeven miles before they encamped for the night.

49 That is, they inferred, from ſeeing the tracks which the Indians had made in coming as well as in going, that they were now returning toward their homes; whence they had probably been drawn by the infrequent ſight of the ſhip acroſs the bay.

50 If my theory is correct that the party took this route, Negro Head — which is eighty-eight feet high, and which is near their "turning" around the end of Great Pond to go eaſt — ſeems likelieſt to have been this hill.

51 Suppoſed to be in the neighborhood of Stout's Creek, formerly a ſmall branch of Eaſt Harbor, in Truro, — now extinct from the encroachments of the land.

52 *Thurſday*, $\frac{16}{26}$ Nov.

vntill we had compaſſed the head of a long creake,[53] and there they tooke into another wood,[54] and we after them, ſuppoſing to finde ſome of their dwellings, but we marched thorow boughes and buſhes, and vnder hills and vallies, which tore our very Armour in peeces,[55] and yet could meete with none of them, nor their houſes, nor finde any freſh water, which we greatly deſired, and ſtood in need off, for we brought neither Beere nor Water with vs, and our victuals was onely Bisket and Holland cheeſe, and a little Bottle of *aquavite*,[56] ſo as we were ſore a thirſt. About ten a clocke we came into a deepe Valley,[57] full of bruſh, wood-gaile, and long graſſe,[58] through which we

53 *Eaſt-Harbor Creek*, which almoſt cuts through to the ocean ſide. "At the head of Eaſt-Harbor Creek, the Atlantic is ſeparated but by half a dozen rods of ſand from the tide-waters of the Bay." — [Thoreau's *Cape Cod*, p. 166.]

54 Clearing the end of Eaſt-Harbor Creek, they turned toward the ſouth, which would bring them toward the woods, which ſeem to have covered the ridges and central portion — back from the ocean on the N. E. and the bay on the S. W.

55 Dr. Freeman ſaid, in 1801, "Excepting the trees and buſhes, which have diſappeared, this is an exact deſcription of that part of Truro called Eaſt Harbor." — [1 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.* viii. 208.]

56 "*Aqua vitae*, a ſort of cordial Liquor formerly made of brewed Beer ſtrongly hopp'd, well fermented; now (1730) it is commonly underſtood of Spirits, Geneva, and the like." — [*Bailey.*]

57 The valley which contains the four or five ſcattering houſes which now repreſent what uſed to be the village of Eaſt Harbor, in Truro; perhaps one and one half miles W. N. W. from Highland Light.

58 *Bruſh.* — A general name for wild roſe-buſhes *(Roſa lucida)*, buſh-whortleberry *(Vaccinium dumoſum)*, low blueberry *(Vaccinium Pennſylvanicum)*, bearberry *(Arctoſtaphylos uva urſi)*, brown crowberry *(Oakeſia conradi)*, pimpernel *(Anagallis arvenſis)*, beach-plum *(Prunus maritima)*, beach-pea *(Lathyrus maritimus)*, ſhad-buſh *(Amelanchier ovalis)*, and other coarſe ſhrubby and weedy growths which are ſtill found in, or

found little paths or tracts, and there we ſaw a Deere, and found ſprings of freſh water,[59] of which we were heartily glad, and ſat vs downe and drunke our firſt *New-England* water with as much delight as euer we drunke drinke in all our liues. When we had refreſhed our ſelues, we directed our courſe full South, that we might come to the ſhore, which within a ſhort while after we did, and there made a fire, that they in the ſhip might ſee where wee were (as we had direction)[60] and ſo marched on towards this ſuppoſed River; and as we went in another valley, we found a fine cleere Pond of freſh water, being about a Musket ſhot broad, and twiſe as long;[61] there grew alſo many ſmall vines, [6] and Foule and Deere haunted there; there grew much Saſafras:

not far from, the ſame localities. — [See Thoreau's *Cape Cod*, paſſim.]

Wood-gaile, Dr. Young thought to be the *Sweet gale (Myrica gale)*, but I am not aware that any trace of that exiſts on the Cape; while a ſecond ſpecies of the ſame family, the *Bay-berry (Myrica cerifera)*, grows in that region abundantly to this day.

Long Graſs. — *Beach graſs (calamagroſtis arenaria)* was undoubtedly what they meant.

59 In 1801, Dr. Freeman ſtated that in this valley was a ſwamp, called Dyer's Swamp, around which were formerly ſprings of freſh water, with a few then ſtill remaining. But the remorſeleſs ſand has now ſo obliterated them that for at leaſt a generation there has been no ſign of ſprings there, — only a hollow, overgrown with buſhes.

60 Bradford ſays, "Afterwards they directed their courſe to come to y^e^ other ſhore, for they knew it was a necke of land they were to croſſe over, and ſo at length gott to y^e^ ſeaſide." — [*Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 81.] A S. W. courſe would bring them to the ſhore of the bay within the diſtance of a mile from Dyer's Swamp; while their fire built there on the ſhore could not have been diſtant much more than four miles acroſs the bay, very nearly due E. from the anchorage of the Mayflower.

61 This was the little lake which gives name to the Pond Village in

from thence we went on & found much plaine ground,[62] about fiftie Acres, fit for the Plow, and ſome ſignes where the *Indians* had formerly planted their corne; after this, ſome thought it beſt for neareneſſe of the river to goe downe and travaile on the Sea ſands, by which meanes ſome of our men were tyred, and lagged behind, ſo we ſtayed and gathered them vp, and ſtruck into the Land againe;[63] where we found a little path to certaine heapes of ſand, one whereof was covered with old Matts, and had a woodden thing like a morter whelmed on the top of it, and an earthen pot layd in a little hole at the end thereof; we muſing what it might be, digged & found

Truro. Thoreau, who viſited it in 1855, deſcribes it as "a pond three-eighths of a mile long denſely filled with cat-tail flags [*Typha latifolia*] ſeven feet high,—enough for all the coopers in New England."—[*Cape Cod*, 130.] Although "a fine cleere Pond" in 1620, the added mention of vines, &c., indicates ſwampy tendencies at that time. [See Dr. Fobes's account of the filling up of *Fowling Pond*, in Raynham, within a much more recent period, in 1 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.*, iii. 172.]

62 Proceeding ſouthward toward Pamet River, of which they were in ſearch, they would next come to a ſection of elevated table-land, now traceable between Pond Village and Great Hollow; perhaps three-fourths of a mile W. N. W. of the famous old Truro meeting-houſe, painted by "the dark brown years," now ſtanding no longer.

63 Probably following up the Great Hollow valley from its mouth on the bay; ſo that the place of graves was doubtleſs ſomewhere in what is now the village of Great Hollow. Their ſilence in regard to the Great Swamp in Truro ſeems to be accounted for by this detour to the beach. They ſtruck down to the "ſea-ſands" juſt before they would have come to it, and then going up again through Great Hollow, paſſed by it while they were on the ſhore. The ſwamp is about half way between Pond Village and Great Hollow, ſay three-fourths of a mile from each, almoſt due W. from the old Truro meeting-houſe, and is now ſeparated from the ſhore of the bay by a beach of not more than two hundred feet in width.

a Bow, and, as we thought, Arrowes, but they were rotten; We ſuppoſed there were many other things, but becauſe we deemed them graues,[64] we put in the Bow againe and made it vp as it was, and left the reſt vntouched, becauſe we thought it would be odious vnto them to ranſacke their Sepulchers. We went on further and found new ſtubble, of which they had gotten Corne this yeare, and many Wallnut trees full of Nuts,[65] and great ſtore of Strawberries,[66] and ſome Vines;[67] paſſing thus a

64 Schoolcraft ſays the Indians "chooſe dry and elevated places for burial, which are completely out of the reach of floods or ſtanding water." —[*Hiſt. Indian Tribes of the U. S.*, ii. 69.] And Roger Williams ſays, "Upon the Grave is ſpread the Mat that the party died on, the Diſh he eat in, &c." —[*Key*, &c., in *R.-I. Hiſt. Coll.*, i. 161.]

65 The mockernut hickory *(Carya tomentoſa)* — which grows on a poorer ſoil than the ſhellbark *(Carya alba)* and more prevails in the eaſtern and ſouthern parts of Maſſachuſetts — ripens its fruit in October; ſo that, in the mild winter of 1620, the trees might be expected, in November, to be ſtill "full of nuts."

66 Strawberry *vines (Fragaria Virginiana*, or *veſca)*. Roger Williams ſays, "This Berry is the wonder of all the Fruits growing naturally in thoſe parts: it is of itſelfe Excellent: ſo that one of the chiefeſt Doctors of England was wont to ſay, that God could have made, but God never did make a better Berry: In ſome parts where the Natives have planted" [he does not mean planted ſtrawberry-vines, but tilled the ſoil with corn, &c., and ſo invited its creepers to a richer bed] "I have many times ſeen as many as would fill a good ſhip within a few miles compaſſe." —[*Key*, &c., in *R.-I. Hiſt. Coll.*, i. 90.] "Strawberries grew there abundantly [1855] in the little hollows on the edge of the deſert, ſtanding amid the beach-graſs in the ſand." —[Thoreau, *Cape Cod*, 187.]

67 Grape-vines. Thomas Morton ſays, "Of this kind of trees, there are that beare grapes of three colours, that is to ſay: white, black and red." He adds, "The Country is ſo apt for vines that (but for the fire at the ſpring of the yeare) the vines would ſo over ſpreade the land, that one ſhould not be able to paſſe for them; the fruit is as bigg of ſome as a muſket bullet, and is excellent in taſte." —[*New-Engliſh Canaan*, in Force's *Tracts*, Vol. II., v. 45. See alſo Wood's *New-England's Proſpect*, ch. v.]

field or two, which were not great, we came to another, which had alſo bin new gotten,[68] and there we found where an houſe had beene, and foure or fiue old Plankes layed together; alſo we found a great Ketle, which had beene ſome Ships ketle and brought out of *Europe*;[69] there was alſo an heape of ſand, made like the former, but it was newly done, we might ſee how they had padled it with their hands, which we digged vp, and in it we found a little old Basket full of faire *Indian* Corne, and digged further & found a fine great new Basket full of very faire corne of this yeare, with ſome 36. goodly eares of corne, ſome yellow, and ſome red, and others mixt with blew, which was a very goodly ſight: the Basket[70] was round, and narrow at the top, it held about three or foure

[68] That is, another field where the ſtubble ſhowed that the Indians had newly "gotten corne." In Champlain's *Voyages* there is a plate repreſenting Indian cornfields and wigwams on Cape Cod, in 1605. Thoreau ſays, in 1855, "We were ſurpriſed to hear of the great crops of corn which are ſtill raiſed [on the Cape] notwithſtanding the real and apparent barrenneſs."—[*Cape Cod*, 33.]

[69] Theſe were, moſt likely, the traces of the company to which Bradford refers when he ſays [*Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 98], that about 1617 "a French ſhip was caſt away at *Cap-Codd*, but ye men gott aſhore, & ſaved their lives, and much of their victails & other goods." He adds that the Indians killed all but three or four, uſing the ſurvivors worſe than ſlaves; two of whom Captain Dermer redeemed.

[70] "Their Barnes are holes made in the earth, that will hold a Hogſhead of corne a peece in them. In theſe (when their corne is out of the huſke and well dried) they lay their ſtore in greate baſkets (which they make of Sparke) with matts under about the ſides and on the top: and putting it into the place made for it, they cover it with earth: and in this manner it is preſerved from deſtruction or putrifaction; to be uſed in caſe of neceſſity and not elſe."—[*New-Engliſh Canaan*, in Force's *Tracts*, Vol. II., v. 30.]

Buſhels, which was as much as two of vs could lift vp from the ground, and was very handſomely and cunningly made; But whilſt wee were buſie about theſe things, we ſet our men Sentinell in a round ring, all but two [7] or three which digged vp the corne. We were in ſuſpence, what to doe with it, and the Ketle, and at length after much conſultation, we concluded to take the Ketle, and as much of the Corne as we could carry away with vs; and when our Shallop came, if we could find any of the people, and come to parley with them, we would giue them the Ketle againe, and ſatisfie them for their Corne,[71] ſo we tooke all the eares and put a good deale of the looſe Corne in the Ketle for two men to bring away on a ſtaffe; beſides, they that could put any into their Pockets filled the ſame; the reſt wee buried againe, for we were ſo laden with Armour that we could carry no more. Not farre from this place we found the remainder of an old Fort, or Palizide, which as we conceiued had beene made by ſome Chriſtians,[72] this was alſo hard by that place which we thought had beene a river, vnto which wee went and found it ſo to be, deviding it ſelfe into two armes by an high banke,[73] ſtanding right by the cut or

71 This was indicative of the ſpirit of fairneſs with which the Pilgrims of Plymouth always acted towards the aboriginal owners of the ſoil. [See diſcuſſion of the queſtion, *Did the Pilgrims wrong the Indians?* in the *Congregational Quarterly*, i. 129–135.]

72 They ſeem to have now reached the neighborhood of Hopkins's Cliff, which borders Pamet River on the north. Doubtleſs the "old fort," and the "remains of the houſe" ſeen a little before, had one origin.

73 Now called Old Tom's Hill, in Indian Neck.

mouth which came from the Sea,[74] that which was next vnto vs was the leſſe, the other arme was more then twiſe as big, and not vnlike to be an harbour for ſhips; but whether it be a freſh river, or onely an indraught of the Sea, we had no time to diſcover; for wee had Commandement to be out but two dayes. Here alſo we ſaw two Canoas,[75] the one on the one ſide, the other on the other ſide,[76] wee could not beleeue it was a Canoa, till we came neare it, ſo we returned leauing the further diſco-

74 Bradford ſays, "This was near ye place of that ſuppoſed river they came to ſeeck; unto which they wente and found it to open it ſelfe into 2. armes with a high cliffe of ſand in ye enterance, but more like to be crikes of ſalte water than any freſh, for ought they ſaw."—[*Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 82.] Prince [*Annals*, 74] conjectures this to be what is now Barnſtable harbor. But, aſide from the fact that the reſemblance of Barnſtable harbor to the deſcription here given is of the vagueſt poſſible deſcription, his conjecture is proven erroneous by the fact that the ground gone over by the party to reach Barnſtable muſt have been at leaſt forty-five miles,—an incredible journey for the time, and under the circumſtances; while the details agree at every point with Pamet River. The "leſſe" arm, which was next to the party, is Hopkins's Creek, North Branch, or Pamet Little River; the "other arme" was Pamet River, or Pamet Creek, or Pamet harbor, which almoſt cuts off the Cape here, terminating only within a few rods of the eaſtern ſhore.

75 There is nothing to indicate whether theſe were bark canoes or "dug-outs." Both were uſed by the natives.

76 It is difficult to ſee exactly what is here intended. Dr. Young interprets the "one ſide" and "other ſide" to refer to the bank (i. e. *Old Tom's Hill*), ſo that he underſtands them to have looked acroſs Hopkins's Creek, and ſeen the two canoes lying on its further ſhore, but the one on the one ſide of the "high banke," and the other on the other. This would not enable the party, however, to "come nearer" than the width of the creek to either. If the "one ſide" and the "other ſide," on the other hand, are taken as referring to the creek itſelf, one canoe becomes acceſſible; though it might be urged that if the party came near enough to it to handle it, they might probably have ſaid more about it, and might be tempted to try its power of ferrying.

very hereof to our Shallop, and came that night backe againe to the freſh water pond,[77] and there we made our Randevous that night, making a great fire, and a Baricado[78] to windward of vs, and kept good watch with three Sentinells all night, euery one ſtanding when his turne came, while fiue or ſixe inches of Match was burning.[79] It proved a very rainie night. In the morning[80] we tooke our Ketle and ſunke it in the pond, and trimmed our Muskets, for few of them would goe off becauſe of the wett, and ſo coaſted the wood[81] againe to come home, in which we were ſhrewdly puſ-led, and loſt our way, as we wandred we came to a tree, where a yong Spritt[82] was bowed downe over a bow, and ſome

77 See note 61.

78 "So they made them a barricado (as uſually they did every night) with loggs, ſtaks, & thike pine bowes, ye height of a man, leaving it open to leeward, partly to ſhelter them from ye could & wind (making their fire in ye midle & lying round aboute it), and partly to defend them from any ſudden aſſaults of ye ſavags, if they ſhould ſurround them." —[Bradford, *Plym. Plant.*, 84.]

79 Moſt of their guns were match-locks (though the Pilgrims then had at leaſt one flint-lock in their poſſeſſion, as will appear farther on), which would be worthleſs in a ſudden alarm unleſs the match were kept conſtantly ignited.

80 *Friday*, $\frac{17}{27}$ Nov.

81 The foreſt ſeems to have grown down to the pond on the north, and thence ſtretched acroſs toward the ocean; ſo that they "ſkirted it" in their endeavor to go around the head of Eaſt-Harbor Creek; but, getting confuſed in the denſe growth, and ſo loſt, they went too far E.

82 A ſprout, *i. e.* a young ſapling. Thomas Morton ſays, "The Salvages take theſe [deer] in trappes made of their naturall Hempe, which they place in the earth; where they fell a tree for browſe, and when he rounds the tree for the browſe, if hee tread on the trapp, he is horſed up by the legg, by meanes of a pole that ſtarts up and catcheth him." —[*New-Eng. Canaan*, in Force's *Tracts*, Vol. II., v. 52.] The boys in the Old Colony catch the ſmall game of the woods, to this day, by ſimilar traps.

Acornes ſtrewed vn- [8] der-neath; *Stephen Hopkins* ſayd, it had beene to catch ſome Deere, ſo, as we were looking at it, *William Bradford* being in the *Reare*, when he came looked alſo vpon it, and as he went about, it gaue a ſodaine jerk vp, and he was immediately caught by the leg; It was a very pretie deviſe, made with a Rope of their owne making, and having a nooſe as artificially made, as any Roper[83] in *England* can make, and as like ours as can be, which we brought away with vs. In the end wee got out of the Wood, and were fallen about a myle too high aboue the creake,[84] where we ſaw three Bucks, but we had rather haue had one of them.[85] Wee alſo did ſpring three couple of Partridges; and as we came along by the creake, wee ſaw great flockes of wild Geeſe and Duckes, but they were very fearefull of vs. So we marched ſome while in the Woods, ſome while on the ſands, and other while in the water vp to the knees,[86]

[83] A ropemaker.—[*Johnſon.*]

[84] This would indicate that they came out upon the eaſtern ſhore, ſcarcely three-fourths of a mile N.W. of the preſent ſite of the Highland Light.

[85] There is a quaint touch of humor here which indicates that the Pilgrim viſage, though grim, knew how to ſmile.

[86] Dr. Young ſuggeſts that they went down the *weſt* ſide of Eaſt-Harbor Creek, and forded its mouth; but I ſee nothing in their narrative to indicate that they did ſo. The fact that they marched ſome while "in the water up to the knees" does not prove it, becauſe they would be very likely to do that in marching around the marſhes that ſkirted Stout's Creek, if they returned the ſame way they went; while the fact that they had juſt been loſt in the woods, when they reached the head of Eaſt-Harbor Creek, would have been likely to have urged them to go back upon their tracks, after they had found them. It is, farther, in itſelf, greatly improbable that they would go that way; (*a*) the difficulties of croſſing Moon-

till at length we came neare the Ship,[87] and then we ſhot off our Peeces, and the long Boat came to fetch vs;

pond Run — which is ſituated in the inner angle where Beach Point joins the main body of the Cape — are great when the tide is out, and inſurmountable when it is in; (*b*) if they had intended to go back by way of Beach Point, — as the curve-line of the ſhore, from where they were ſtanding when they were on the hill near the Pond Village, muſt have been viſible, ſo that they could ſee that there were no obſtructions in their courſe that way, — one would think it much more natural that they ſhould have followed the hypothenuſe — the bay ſhore — back thither, than to have ſtruggled through the bruſhwood, thorns, and mud of the two ſides of the triangle, round by Eaſt-harbor meadow, High Head, and Moon Pond, to reach the ſame point; (*c*) it is by no means certain that the mouth of Eaſt-Harbor Creek was fordable two hundred and forty-five years ago. It ſeems moſt probable, then, that they went back by eſſentially the ſame way that they had come.

[87] Here alſo it ſeems to me that both Dr. Young and Dr. Freeman [1 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.*, viii. 212] have wrongly inferred that the party waded acroſs Mill Creek and went round to the end of Long Point before hailing the ſhip. This — if the configuration of Mill Creek were at all then as now — would have added at leaſt four miles of tedious travel to what would be needful, if they returned on board from the waſhing-beach, where they appear to have diſembarked for this journey. They muſt have been too much fatigued — laden as they were with their armor and weapons and their corn — to do this needleſſly. Moreover, it is ſtated that Jones, Carver, and a number of the company were on ſhore when they arrived; but they would have been more likely to have been on the main ſhore than on Long Point. It is obvious that, although the Mayflower lay at anchor not over a furlong's length from the inner ſhore of Long Point (as ſeems to be fixed by the remark made when the ſhallop ſtarted on its voyage to Plymouth), yet the going aſhore was moſtly done in the direction of Provincetown; inaſmuch as it is repeatedly ſaid that they were compelled to wade a bow-ſhot or two; that they could not, at low-water, get within three-fourths of a mile of the ſhore, &c., &c. I judge, then, that the party "ſhot off" their "peeces" when they came down againſt the ſhip, — perhaps in the preſent neighborhood of Central Wharf, — and that their friends, who were ſcattered, on their occaſions, about the neighborhood, then came to greet them, and the long-boat ſoon took all on board.

I am not able, I may add here, to underſtand Dr. Young's ſtatement, that the ſhip lay two miles from Provincetown. If ſhe were a furlong inſide of Long Point, ſhe could

maſter *Iones*, and maſter *Caruer* being on the ſhore, with many of our people, came to meete vs. And thus wee came both weary and well-come home, and deliuered in our Corne into the ſtore, to be kept for ſeed, for wee knew not how to come by any, and therefore were very glad, purpoſing ſo ſoone as we could meete with any of the Inhabitants of that place, to make them large ſatisfaction. This was our firſt Diſcovery, whilſt our Shallop was in repairing; our people did make things as fitting as they could, and time would, in ſeeking out wood, and heluing of Tooles, and ſawing of Tymber to build a new Shallop, but the diſcommodiouſnes of the harbour did much hinder vs, for we could neither goe to, nor come from the ſhore, but at high water, which was much to our hinderance and hurt, for oftentimes they waded to the midle of the thigh, and oft to the knees, to goe and come from land; ſome did it neceſſarily, and ſome for their owne pleaſure, but it brought to the moſt, if not to all, coughes and colds, the weather prouing ſodainly cold and ſtormie, which afterward turned to the ſcurvey, whereof many dyed. [9]

When our Shallop was fit indeed, before ſhe was fully fitted, for there was two dayes worke after beſtowed on her, there was appointed ſome 24. men of our owne,

ſcarcely have been ten furlongs off Provincetown, as the ſhore now is; while, as the ſhore then would ſeem to have been (see note 35), ſhe could hardly have been more than ſeven or eight.

and armed, then to goe and make a more full diſcovery of the rivers before mentioned.[88] Maſter *Iones* was deſirous to goe with vs, and tooke ſuch of his ſaylers as he thought vſefull for vs, ſo as we were in all about 34. men; wee made maſter *Iones* our Leader, for we thought it beſt herein to gratifie his kindnes and forwardnes.[89] When we were ſet forth, it proued rough weather and croſſe windes, ſo as we were conſtrained, ſome in the Shallop, and others in the long Boate, to row to the neereſt ſhore the wind would ſuffer them to goe vnto, and then to wade out aboue the knees;[90] the wind was ſo ſtrong as the Shallop could not keepe the water, but was forced to harbour there that night,[91] but we marched ſixe or ſeaven miles further,[92] and appointed the Shallop to come to vs as ſoone as they could. It blowed and did ſnow all that day & night, and froſe withall: ſome of our people that are dead tooke the originall of their death here. The next day[93] about 11. a clocke our Shallop came to vs, and wee

88 That is, Pamet River and its three branches. See note 74.

89 This proves nothing either way in regard to the charge which Secretary Morton makes [*N. E. Mem.*, 12.] of treachery againſt Jones in landing the company ſo far north; becauſe, if that were true, it was not known to any of the company for years afterward, and of courſe could not now impair their feelings of confidence in, or kindneſs towards, him.

90 Probably Beach Point.

91 The ſhallop appears to have gone in round Beach Point into Eaſt-Harbor Creek.

92 How far would ſeem to them, under their circumſtances, to have been ſix or ſeven miles muſt be matter of conjecture. They probably did not get farther from Beach Point than Great Hollow, where they might conveniently take the ſhallop next day; which would be about five miles.

93 *Tuesday*, 28 Nov. 8 Dec.

ſhipped our ſelues, and the wind being good, we ſayled to the river we formerly diſcovered,[94] which we named, *Cold Harbour*, to which when wee came we found it not Navigable for Ships, yet we thought it might be a good harbour for Boats, for it flowes there 12. foote at high water. We landed our men betweene the two creekes,[95] and marched ſome foure or fiue myles by the greater of them,[96] and the Shallop followed vs; at length night grew on, and our men were tired with marching vp and downe the ſteepe hills, and deepe vallies, which lay halfe a foot thicke with ſnow: Maſter *Iones* wearied with marching, was deſirous we ſhould take vp our lodging, though ſome of vs would haue marched further, ſo we made there our Randevous for that night, vnder a few Pine trees, and as it fell out, wee got three fat Geeſe, and ſix Ducks[97] to our Supper, which we eate with Souldiers ſtomacks, for we

94 Pamet River. See note 74.

95 That is, at Old Tom's Hill, on Indian Neck.

96 The width of the Cape from the mouth of Pamet River acroſs to the Atlantic ſide is now ſcarcely three and a half miles, and, following all the windings of that crooked channel, it would be hard to double that diſtance; ſo that, in this eſtimate alſo, we muſt make ſome allowance for the influence of circumſtances upon miles.

97 "There are Geſſe of three ſorts vize, brant Geeſe, which are pide, and white Geeſe which are bigger, and gray Geeſe which are as bigg and bigger then the tame Geeſe of England, with black legges, black bills, heads, and necks black; the fleſh farre more excellent, then the Geeſe of England, wild or tame, yet the purity of the aire is ſuch, that the biggeſt is accompted but an indifferent meale for a couple of men. There is of them great abundance. I have had often 1000. before the mouth of my gunne, I never ſaw any in Enggland for my part ſo fatt. . . . Ducks, there are of three kindes, pide Ducks, gray Ducks, and black Ducks in greate abundance."—[*New-Eng. Canaan*, Force, II., v. 46.]

had eaten little all that day; our reſolution was next morning to goe vp to the head of this river, for we ſuppoſed it would proue freſh water,[98] but in [10] the morning[99] our reſolution held not, becauſe many liked not the hillineſſe of the ſoyle, and badneſſe of the harbour, ſo we turned towards the other creeke,[100] that wee might goe over and looke for the reſt of the Corne that we left behind when we were here before; when we came to the creeke, we ſaw the Canow[101] lie on the dry ground, and a flocke of Geeſe in the river, at which one made a ſhot, and killed a couple of them, and we lanched the Canow & fetcht them, and when we had done, ſhe carryed vs over by ſeaven or eight at once. This done, we marched to the place where we had the corne formerly, which place we called *Corne-hill;* and digged and found the reſt, of which we were very glad: we alſo digged in a place a little further off, and found a Botle of oyle;[102] wee went to another place, which we had ſeene before, and digged, and found more corne, *viz.* two or three Baskets full of *Indian* Wheat,[103] and a bag of Beanes, with a good many of faire

98 They muſt have been then within a mile of the Atlantic ſide. The preſent iſthmus between the head of Pamet River and the beach on the eaſtern ſide of the Cape can scarcely be more than forty rods in width.

99 *Wedneſday,* $\frac{29 \text{ Nov.}}{9 \text{ Dec.}}$

100 That is, over toward the north branch and Cornhill.

101 See note 75.

102 Another relic of the ſhipwrecked ſailors? See note 69.

103 *Corn* was a general term for thoſe farinaceous grains which grow in ears, including wheat, barley, oats, maize, &c. By "Indian wheat" they meant maize or "Indian corn." Higginſon ſays, "It is almoſt incredible what great gaine ſome of our Engliſh Planters have had by our Indian

Wheat-eares;[104] whilſt ſome of vs were digging vp this, ſome others found another heape of Corne, which they digged vp alſo, ſo as we had in all about ten Buſhels, which will ſerue vs ſufficiently for ſeed. And ſure it was Gods good providence that we found this Corne, for els wee know not hòw we ſhould haue done, for we knew not how we ſhould find, or meete with any of the *Indians*, except it be to doe vs a miſchiefe. Alſo we had neuer in all likelihood ſeene a graine of it, if we had not made our firſt Iourney;[105] for the ground was now covered with ſnow, and ſo hard froſen, that we were faine with our Curtlaxes[106] and ſhort Swords, to hew and carue the ground a foot deepe, and then wreſt it vp with leavers, for we had forgot to bring other Tooles; whilſt we were in this imployment, foule weather being towards,[107] Note.

Corne. Credible perſons have aſſured me, and the partie him-ſelfe auouched the truth of it to me, that of the ſetting of 13 Gallons of Corne he hath had encreaſe of it 52 Hogſheads, euerie Hogſhead holding ſeuen Buſhels of *London* meaſure, and euerie Buſhell was by him ſold and truſted to the *Indians* for ſo much Beauer as was worth 18 ſhillings; and ſo of this 13 Gallons of Corne which was worth 6 ſhillings 8 pence, he made about 327 pounds of it the yeere following, as by reckononing will appeare. . . . There is not ſuch great and beautifull eares of Corne I ſuppoſe any where elſe to be found but in this Countrey: being alſo of a variety of colours, as red, blew, and yellow, &c." —[*New-England's Plantation*, Force, I., xii. 6.]

[104] Theſe "Wheat-eares" were ears of corn. Beans were a part of the yearly crop of the Indians, when the country was diſcovered. The wild *Phaſeolus trilobus* was uſed by the Indian doctors as a cooling ſedative antibilious tonic. The *Phaſeolus vulgaris* was, moſt likely, the kind raiſed by the Indians. —[Dewey's *Herb. Plants of Maſs.*, 63.]

[105] See p. 21.

[106] "Curtlaſs (q. d. *curtled* or *curt axe*) a ſhort ſword, a kind of hanger." —[*Bailey.*]

[107] "*Towards* (adverb), near at hand; advancing." —[*Worceſter.*]

Maſter *Iones* was earneſt to goe abourd, but ſundry of vs deſired to make further diſcovery, and to find out the *Indians* habitations, ſo we ſent home with him our weakeſt people, and ſome that were ſicke,[108] and all the Corne, and 18. of vs ſtayed ſtill, and lodged there[109] that night, and deſired that the Shallop might returne to vs next day, and bring vs ſome Mattocks and Spades with them.

[11] The next morning[110] we followed certaine beaten pathes and tracts of the *Indians* into the Woods, ſuppoſing they would haue led vs into ſome Towne, or houſes; after wee had gone a while, we light vpon a very broad beaten path, well nigh two foote broad, then we lighted all our Matches,[111] and prepared our ſelues, concluding wee were neare their dwellings, but in the end we found it to be onely a path made to driue Deere in, when the *Indians* hunt, as wee ſuppoſed;[112] when we had marched fiue or ſix myles into the Woods,[113] and could find no ſignes of any people, we returned againe another way, and as we came into the plaine ground,[114] wee found a place like a graue, but it was much bigger and longer then any

108 Sixteen went back, as there were thirty-four in the company.

109 In the neighborhood of Corn-hill.

110 *Thurſday*, 30 Nov. 10 Dec.

111 See note 79.

112 This deſcription accords very imperfectly with that of a deer-path which Dr. Young quotes from Wood. It is quite poſſible that the Pilgrims were miſtaken in their conjecture, and he in his comment.

113 The direction of their march, moſt likely, was over toward the Atlantic ſide, ſomewhere between Small's Hill and Highland Light.

114 That is, came back to the cleared land ſouth of the Pond, where they had found graves in their firſt expedition.

we had yet ſeene. It was alſo covered with boords, ſo as we muſed what it ſhould be, and reſolved to digge it vp, where we found, firſt a Matt, and vnder that a fayre Bow, and there another Matt, and vnder that a boord about three quarters[115] long, finely carued and paynted, with three tynes, or broches[116] on the top, like a Crowne; alſo betweene the Matts we found Boules, Trayes, Diſhes, and ſuch like Trinkets; at length we came to a faire new Matt, and vnder that two Bundles, the one bigger, the other leſſe, we opened the greater and found in it a great quantitie of fine and perfect red Powder, and in it the bones and skull of a man. The skull had fine yellow haire ſtill on it, and ſome of the fleſh vnconſumed; there was bound vp with it a knife, a pack-needle,[117] and two or three old iron things. It was bound vp in a Saylers canvas Caſacke,[118] and a payre of cloth breeches; the red Powder was a kind of Embaulment, and yeelded a ſtrong, but no offensiue ſmell; It was as fine as any flower. We opened the leſſe bundle likewiſe, and found of the ſame Powder in it, and the bones and head of a little childe, about the leggs, and other parts of it was bound ſtrings, and bracelets of fine white Beads;[119] there was alſo by it

[115] A quarter of a yard was familiarly ſpoken of, in lineal meaſure, as a "quarter."

[116] "*Tine*, the Grain [prong] of a Fork." "*Broach*, a ſpit for roaſting meat on."—[*Bailey.*] The idea is that ſomething like a trident was carved on the board; connecting nautical aſſociations with the grave.

[117] A large, coarſe needle for ſewing pack-cloth with pack-thread, in doing up packages of goods.

[118] A coarſe frock, or blouſe.

[119] Wampum.

a little Bow, about three quarters long, and ſome other odd knackes; we brought ſundry of the pretieſt things away with vs, and covered the Corps vp againe. After this, we digged in ſundry like places, but found no more Corne, nor any things els but [12] graues: There was varietie of opinions amongſt vs about the embalmed perſon; ſome thought it was an *Indian* Lord and King: others ſayd, the *Indians* haue all blacke hayre, and never any was ſeene with browne or yellow hayre; ſome thought, it was a Chriſtian of ſome ſpeciall note, which had dyed amongſt them, and they thus buried him to honour him; others thought, they had killed him, and did it in triumph over him.[120] Whileſt we were thus ranging and ſearching, two of the Saylers, which were newly come on the ſhore,[121] by chance eſpied two houſes, which had beene lately dwelt in, but the people were gone. They having their peeces,

[120] From the mention of the trident carved and painted on the board found in the grave, and that of the knife, pack-needle, caſſock, and breeches, and the yellow hair found on the ſkull, it is made probable that this was the grave of one of the ſhipwrecked ſailors already referred to, or of ſome one of earlier coming. (See note 69.) What the embalming powder — as they conceived it to be — was, I can form no conjecture. Nor is it eaſy to explain the child's bones, and the Indian relics buried in the ſame grave. Although Bradford's reference to theſe ſailors [*Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 98] ſhows that they were ſaid to have been treated "worſe than ſlaves" by the Indians, it is poſſible that ſome one of them may have pleaſed his captors, and been adopted into their tribe; may have married, and been buried by them with honor, and with his child in the ſame grave. Or, poſſibly, it may have been a North-men relic.

[121] The ſhallop had returned for the eighteen members of the party who had remained — as by requeſt of the previous night; and ſome of her ſailors were now ſearching for them.

and hearing no body entred the houſes, and tooke out ſome things, and durſt not ſtay but came againe and told vs; ſo ſome ſeaven or eight of vs went with them, and found how we had gone within a flight ſhot of them before. The houſes were made with long yong Sapling trees, bended and both ends ſtucke into the ground;[122] they were made round, like vnto an Arbour, and covered downe to the ground with thicke and well wrought matts, and the doore was not over a yard high, made of a matt to open;[123] the chimney was a wide open hole in the top, for which they had a matt to cover it cloſe when they pleaſed; one might ſtand and goe vpright in them, in the midſt of them were foure little trunches[124] knockt into the ground, and ſmall ſtickes laid over, on which they hung their Pots, and what they had to ſeeth; round about the fire they lay on matts, which are their beds. The houſes were double matted, for as they were matted without, ſo were they within, with newer & fairer matts.[125] In the houſes we found wooden Boules, Trayes & Diſhes, Earthen Pots, Hand baskets made of Crab

[122] "Their Houſes are verie little and homely, being made with ſmall Poles pricked into the ground, and ſo bended and faſtned at the tops, and on the ſides they are matted with Boughes, and couered on the Roofe with Sedge and old Mats."—[*New-England's Plantation*, Force, I. xii. 13. See alſo, for further particulars in regard to the Indian wigwams, *R.-I. Hiſt. Coll.*, i. 47–51; *Force*, II., v. 19, 20; 1 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.*, i. 149; Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes, &c.*, ii. 63, &c.]

[123] "Their doore is a hanging *Mat*, which being lift up, falls downe of itſelfe."—[Roger Williams, *R.-I. Hiſt. Coll.*, i. 51.]

[124] "*Trunch*, a ſtake, a ſmall poſt."—[*Webſter.*]

[125] "They line them with embroyd-

ſhells, wrought together;[126] alſo an Engliſh Paile or Bucket, it wanted a bayle, but it had two Iron eares: there was alſo Baskets of ſundry ſorts, bigger and ſome leſſer, finer and ſome courſer: ſome were curiouſly wrought with blacke and white in pretie workes,[127] and ſundry other of their houſhold ſtuffe: we found alſo two or three Deeres heads, one whereof had bin newly killed, for it was ſtill freſh; there was alſo a company of [13] Deeres feete, ſtuck vp in the houſes, Harts hornes,[128] and Eagles clawes,[129] and ſundry ſuch like things there was: alſo two or three Baskets full of parched Acornes, peeces of fiſh, and a peece of a broyled Hering. We found alſo a little ſilke graſſe,[130] and a little Tobacco ſeed,[131] with

ered mats which the women make, and call them *Mannotaubana*, or *Hangings*, which amongſt them make as faire a ſhow as Hangings with us." —[Roger Williams, *R.-I. Hiſt. Coll.*, i. 47.]

126 Gookin mentions various materials for Indian baſkets: "Some are made of ruſhes; ſome of bents [bent-graſs]; others, of maize huſks; others, of a kind of ſilk graſs; others, of a kind of wild hemp; and ſome, of barks of trees."—[1 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.*, i. 151.] Theſe, of crab-ſhells, muſt have been faſtened, one would think, by ſinews; and muſt have been the reſult of "fancy work."

127 "Many of them very neat and artificial, with the portraitures of birds, beaſts, fiſhes and flowers, upon them in colours."—[*Gookin*, as above.]

128 Theſe muſt have been deer's horns. The fallow-deer *(Cervus Virginianus)* is the only ſpecies of its genus catalogued as native to Maſſachuſetts."—[Emmons's *Quadrupeds of Maſs.*, 81.]

129 The *Falco leucocephalus*, or poſſibly that named, by Audubon, the *Falco Waſhingtonianus;* unleſs the party miſtook the talons of the huge fiſh-hawk *(Falco haliætus)* for thoſe of an eagle.

130 Poſſibly the *Stipa avenacea*, or ſome kindred feathery graſs; but moſt probably the dried long ſeed-down of the *Aſclepias cornuti*, commonly known as milkweed, or ſilkweed.

131 Probably thoſe of the *Nicotiana ruſtica*, with greeniſh yellow flowers, and not the *N. tabacum*, the flowers of which are roſe-colored. The for-

ſome other ſeeds which wee knew not; without was ſundry bundles of Flags, and Sedge, Bull-ruſhes, and other ſtuffe to make matts;[132] there was thruſt into an hollow tree, two or three peeces of Veniſon, but we thought it fitter for the Dogs then for vs: ſome of the beſt things we tooke away with vs, and left the houſes ſtanding ſtill as they were, ſo it growing towards night, and the tyde almoſt ſpent, we haſted with our things downe to the Shallop, and got abourd that night,[133] intending to haue brought ſome Beades, and other things to haue left in the houſes, in ſigne of Peace, and that we meant to truk with them, but it was not done, by meanes of our haſtie comming away from Cape Cod,[134] but ſo ſoone as we can

mer is conſidered inferior to the latter, and now grows wild in old fields in ſome parts of the north, a relic of cultivation by the Indians. Roger Williams ſays, "They take their *Wuttamauog* (that is, a weake Tobacco) which the men plant themſelves, very frequently; yet I never ſee any take ſo exceſſively, as I have ſeene Men in Europe. . . . They ſay they take Tobacco for two cavſes; firſt againſt the rheume which cavſeth the toothake, which they are impatient of: ſecondly to revive and refreſh them, they drinking nothing but water."—[*R.-I. Hiſt. Coll.*, i. 35, 55.]

[132] The flags, moſt likely, were the *Acorus calamus* and *Iris verſicolor;* the ſedge, the larger varieties of the *Carex* family; and the bulruſhes, the *Typha latifolia.*

[133] Prince ſays [*New-Eng. Chron.*, i. 75], "They get aboard at night; and the next Day, *Dec.* 1. Return to the Ship;" and cites this "Relation" in proof. But I ſubmit that, although it was "growing towards night" when they ſtarted for the ſhallop, it is yet more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, as they had ſcarcely more than five miles to go, that they reached the Mayflower that evening, than that they ſpent the night in the cold in the ſhallop, almoſt, or quite, within ſight of the top of her maſts. I interpret, then, the expreſſion "got abourd that night" as referring to the Mayflower. And this explains the abſence of all reference to a return on the next day.

[134] The meaning is, that they intended, after reaching the ſhip, to make another expedition to theſe

meete conveniently with them, we will giue them full ſatisfaction.[135] Thus much of our ſecond Diſcovery.

Having thus diſcovered this place, it was controverſall amongſt vs, what to doe touching our aboad and ſetling there; ſome thought it beſt for many reaſons to abide there.[136]

As firſt, that there was a convenient harbour for Boates, though not for Ships.

Secondly, Good Corne ground readie to our hands, as we ſaw by experience in the goodly corne it yeelded, which would againe agree with the ground, and be naturall feed for the ſame.

Thirdly, Cape Cod was like to be a place of good fiſhing, for we ſaw daily great Whales of the beſt kind for oyle and bone, come cloſe aboord our Ship, and in fayre weather ſwim and play about vs;[137] there was once one when the Sun ſhone warme, came and lay aboue water, as if ſhe had beene dead, for a good while together, within halfe a Musket ſhot of the Ship, at which two were prepared to ſhoote, to ſee whether ſhe would ſtir or no, he that gaue fire firſt, his Musket flew in peeces, both ſtocke and barrell, yet thankes be to [14] God, neither he nor

wigwams with beads, &c.; but were prevented by ſtarting ſo ſoon for Plymouth, and by the ſudden removal of the Mayflower thither after they had decided to ſettle there.

[135] "As about ſome 6. months afterward they did, to their good contente." —[Bradford, *Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 83.]

[136] That is, on the cleared land around Cornhill, and bordering Pamet River.

[137] See note 13.

any man els was hurt with it, though many were there about, but when the Whale ſaw her time ſhe gaue a ſnuffe and away.

Fourthly, the place was likely to be healthfull, ſecure, and defenſible.

But the laſt and eſpeciall reaſon was, that now the heart of Winter and vnſeaſonable weather was come vpon vs, ſo that we could not goe vpon coaſting and diſcovery, without danger of looſing men and Boat, vpon which would follow the overthrow of all, eſpecially conſidering what variable windes and ſodaine ſtorms doe there ariſe. Alſo cold and wett lodging had ſo taynted our people, for ſcarce any of vs were free from vehement coughs, as if they ſhould continue long in that eſtate, it would indanger the liues of many, and breed diſeaſes and infection amongſt vs. Againe, we had yet ſome Beere, Butter, Fleſh, and other ſuch victuals left, which would quickly be all gone, and then we ſhould haue nothing to comfort vs in the great labour and toyle we were like to vnder-goe at the firſt; It was alſo conceived, whilſt we had competent victuals, that the Ship would ſtay with vs, but when that grew low, they would be gone, and let vs ſhift as we could.[138]

Others againe, vrged greatly the going to *Anguum* or *Angoum*,[139] a place twentie leagues off to the North-

[138] This is another proof that the Pilgrims felt that they had reaſon to diſtruſt Capt. Jones and his company.

[139] I take it that all their impreſſions of this place — except as they might have been gathered from the

wards, which they had heard to be an excellent harbour for ſhips; better ground and better fiſhing. Secondly, for any thing we knew, there might be hard by vs a farre better ſeate, and it ſhould be a great hindrance to ſeate where wee ſhould remoue againe.[140] Thirdly, The water was but in ponds, and it was thought there would be none in Summer, or very little. Fourthly, the water

floating rumors of the ſea — they had derived from Captain John Smith's *Deſcription of New England*, with a rude map, which had been publiſhed at London in 1616, and was ſubſequently incorporated with his *Generall Hiſtorie*, publiſhed there in 1624. Deſcribing the Maſſachuſetts ſhore as it revealed itſelf to one coaſting ſouthward, he ſays, "*Augoan* is the next: this place might content a right curious iudgement, but there are many ſands at the entrance of the Harbour, and the worſt is, it is imbayed too farre from the deepe Sea; here are many riſing hills, and on their tops and deſcents are many corne fields and delightful groues: On the Eaſt is an Ile of two or three leagues in length, the one halfe plaine mariſh ground, fit for paſture or ſalt Ponds, with many faire high groues of Mulbery trees and Gardens; there is alſo Okes, Pines, Walnuts, and other wood to make this place an excellent habitation, being a good and ſafe Harbour." — [*Generall Hiſtorie*, 214.] The map indicates — were there any doubt — that the place which Smith had in mind was *Agawam*, now known as Ipſwich, the entrance to whoſe harbor (the goodneſs of which they would have found to be greatly exaggerated) opens directly at the ſouthern extremity of Plum Iſland; and upon Smith's map, by his ſcale of leagues, is put down at as nearly "twentie leagues off to the Northwards" from the Mayflower as ſhe lay at anchor, as can be meaſured; which indeed is not far from the true diſtance.

The name (*Auguam*, *Augoam*, *Anguum*, *Angoum*, *Angawoam*, *Agowamin*, *Agawom*, *Agawam*, *Agawamme*, &c.) is impregnated with the general ſenſe of the word *agwe*, below; and was ſometimes applied to a place abſolutely low, — as to flat meadows where there was no comparative reference to high lands adjacent; ſometimes to a place relatively low, in contraſt with near elevations; and ſometimes to a place below another, as being nearer the mouth of the river on which both were ſituated.

[140] That is, where they ſhould be diſſatisfied, and whence they ſhould be therefore compelled to remove again.

there[141] muſt be fetched vp a ſteepe hill: but to omit many reaſons and replies vſed heere abouts; It was in the ende concluded, to make ſome diſcovery within the Bay, but in no caſe ſo farre as *Angoum*: beſides, *Robert Coppin* our Pilot,[142] made relation of a great Navigable River[143] and good harbour in the other head-land of this Bay,[144] almoſt right over againſt *Cape Cod*, being a right [15] line, not much aboue eight leagues diſtant,[145] in which hee had beene once: and becauſe that one of the

[141] At Cornhill, or on old Tom's Hill. See note 73.

[142] *Robert Coppin* was one of the maſter's mates of the Mayflower, and a pilot. He was pilot of the Plymouth expedition; but he is alſo called "our pilot" in this place, in a way to intimate that he was a pilot of the Mayflower, as well. The word ſeems to have been then uſed in a larger ſenſe than now — as intending not a mere local and temporary channel-guide, but a permanent officer of the ſhip; and, for adventurers to a comparatively unknown land, a perſon who had made the pilgrimage himſelf, and ſo could hold out the hope of benefit from his experience. Capt. John Smith puts down a pilot among the needful functionaries of a ſhip, in his "Sea Grammer" (1627); and had one himſelf (Thomas Digby) in his attempt to reach New-England in 1615.

It is my impreſſion that Coppin was originally hired to go in the Speedwell; that he was the "pilot" whoſe "coming" was a "great incouragement" to the Leyden expectants in the laſt of May or firſt of June, 1620; that he ſailed with them in the Speedwell, but, on her final putting back, was transferred to the Mayflower, where Clarke (ſee note 159) already was; — Robert Cuſhman having written to Leyden $\frac{11}{21}$ June, "We have *another* pilote here, one Mr *Clarke*, who went laſt year to Virginia with a ſhip of kine." — [3 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.*, vi. 134; Bradford, *Plym. Plant.*, 49, 55.]

[143] It is difficult to gueſs what ſuggeſted the idea of this "great navigable river;" and, from what is ſaid, ſubſequently, it is doubtful if Coppin had ever been *in* Plymouth harbor.

[144] The hights of Manomet, lying directly ſouth of the entrance to Plymouth harbor.

[145] It would be a little leſs than 25 miles in an air line — one point ſouth of due weſt — from the anchorage of the Mayflower in Provincetown harbor, to her anchorage in Plymouth harbor.

wild men with whom they had ſome trucking, ſtole a harping Iron [146] from them, they called it theeuiſh harbour. And beyond that place they were enioyned not to goe, whereupon, a Company was choſen to goe out vppon a third diſcovery: whileſt ſome were imployed in this diſcovery,[147] it pleaſed God that Miſtris *White* was brought a bed of a Sonne, which was called *Peregrine*.[148]

The fift day, we through Gods mercy eſcaped a great danger by the fooliſhnes of a Boy, one of *Francis Bil-*

146 "*Harping-irons*, a ſort of Darts or Spears faſtened to Lines, wherewith they ſtrike and catch Whales and other large Fiſh." — [*Bailey*.]

147 The ſenſe here, beyond doubt, requires that the colon after "a third diſcovery" ſhould be a period, and the words "whileſt ſome" begin a new paragraph; ſo as to enable what follows to revert naturally back to the time taken by this ſecond expedition to Cornhill, juſt cloſed, and not to that occupied by the "third diſcovery" (of Plymouth), as it ſeems to do under the exiſting punctuation. The meaning is, that while this party were abſent — between *Monday*, $\frac{27\ \text{Nov.}}{7\ \text{Dec.}}$, and *Thurſday*, $\frac{30\ \text{Nov.}}{10\ \text{Dec.}}$, — this little ſtranger had been added to their company.

148 *Peregrine White* — the firſt child of New England, ſo far as the Engliſh coloniſts were concerned — was youngeſt child of William, "woolcarder from England," and Suſanna (Fuller); who had been married $\frac{1}{11}$ Feb., $16\frac{12}{13}$, in Leyden, and who embarked, with their ſon Reſolved and two men-ſervants, in the Mayflower (ſee note 27); was born (as above) between $\frac{27\ \text{Nov.}}{7\ \text{Dec.}}$ and $\frac{30\ \text{Nov.}}{10\ \text{Dec.}}$; was brought up by Edward Winſlow, who married his mother Suſanna, $\frac{12}{22}$ May, 1621 (his father having died $\frac{21\ \text{Feb.}}{3\ \text{March}}$, $16\frac{20}{21}$); went to Marſhfield with Gov. Winſlow's family, after 1632; 1642, was enſign of Standiſh's militia (lieutenant ſome years later, and captain 1673); 1648, married Sarah Baſſett; ſettled on an eſtate given him by his father-in-law, William Baſſett, between North and South rivers, in Marſhfield; 1660 and 1673, was repreſentative to the General Court, and, 1673, was of the Council of War; had ſix children, — Sarah, Daniel, Jonathan, Peregrine, Silvanus, and Mercy; died "of a fever" $\frac{20}{31}$ July, 1704, aged nearly 84, "vigorous and of a comely aſpect to the laſt." His homeſtead is now owned by John A. White, — a deſcendant of the ſixth generation, — and is ſituated a half mile eaſt of Telegraph Hill, in the northern angle made by South River with the ſhore,

lingtons[149] Sonnes, who in his Fathers abſence, had got Gun-powder, and had ſhot off a peice or two, and made ſquibs, and there being a fowling peice charged in his fathers Cabbin, ſhot her off in the Cabbin, there being a little barrell of powder halfe full, ſcattered in and about the Cabbin, the fire being within foure foote of the bed betweene the Deckes, and many flints and Iron things about the Cabbin, and many people about the fire, and yet by Gods mercy no harme done.

Wedneſday, the ſixt of December,[150] it was reſolved our diſcoverers ſhould ſet forth, for the day before was too fowle weather, and ſo they did, though it was well ore the day ere all things could be readie: So ten of our men were appointed who were of themſelues willing to vndertake it, to wit, Captaine *Standiſh*, Maiſter *Carver*,[151]

and two and a half miles due N. of the late reſidence of Hon. Daniel Webſter.—[Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, iv. 513–515; Thomas's *Memorials of Marſhfield*, 33, 34.]

[149] "One of *Francis* Billington's Sonnes" ſhould evidently be "Francis, one of *John* Billington's ſons." By reference to the liſt of paſſengers (note 27), it will be ſeen that the father's name was John, and that he had ſons John and Francis, the latter of whom is doubtleſs here referred to. The father was not a fit member of the company (having joined them ſomewhere in England), and was hanged in 1630 for the murder of John Newcomen. Francis married, 1634, Chriſtian, widow of Francis Eaton; removed to Yarmouth before 1648, and had eight children.—[Savage, *Gen. Dict.*, i. 179.]

[150] *Wedneſday*, $\frac{6}{16}$ Dec.

[151] *John Carver* firſt appears at Leyden, $\frac{13}{23}$ May, 1616, as witneſs at the marriage of Hendrik Wilſon (although his wife had been a witneſs at the marriage of Roger Chandler there, $\frac{22\ \text{May}}{1\ \text{June}}$, of the previous year); $\frac{9}{19}$ Dec., 1616, he was witneſs at the marriage of John Spooner; $\frac{23\ \text{March}}{2\ \text{April}}$, 1617, he was witneſs at the marriage of John Jennings; in the autumn of the ſame year he was ſent as one of the two agents to England to endeavor to ſecure permiſſion to found a colony;

William Bradford, *Edward Winſloe*,[152] *Iohn Tilley*,[153] *Edward Tilley*, *Iohn Houland*,[154] and three of London, *Richard Warren*,[155] *Steeuen Hopkins*, and *Edward*

went again on the ſame buſineſs in December following, when he was ſtyled "Deacon"; 1620, went to Southampton to make arrangements for the voyage of the Mayflower hither; there received a parting letter from John Robinſon, of date 27 July; was choſen governor when one was choſen for that year (ſee note 28), and re-elected in March following; died ſoon after $\frac{5}{15}$ April, 1621, when he was ſuddenly taken ill in the field. His wife's name was Catherine, and they left (probably had) no children. — [Bradford, *Plym. Plant.*, 30–32, 59, 100, 447; *N. E. Hiſt. and Gen. Reg.*, iv. 105–109; *Leyden Mſs. Rec.*]

[152] *Edward Winſlow* was born at Droitwich, Eng., $\frac{18}{28}$ Oct., 1594; fell into the Leyden Company on a tour in Holland about 1617; $\frac{16}{26}$ May, 1618, married there Elizabeth Barker of Chatſum (?); probably acted as a printer with Brewſter there; was one of four ſigners of a letter of date $\frac{1}{10}$ June, 1620, to Carver and Cuſhman; $\frac{12}{22}$ May, 1621, married Suſanna, widow of William White, and mother of Peregrine; was variouſly very uſeful in the colony, and governor, 1633; was ſent to England many times; was one of Cromwell's commiſſioners controlling the naval expedition to Hiſpaniola, and died $\frac{8}{18}$ May, 1654, and was buried at ſea. He had Edward and John, who died young; 1629, Joſias (governor of Plymouth Colony, 1673–1680); and Elizabeth. He lived at Careſwell, near the eſtate of the late Hon. Daniel Webſter, in Marſhfield. — [*N. E. Hiſt. and Gen. Reg.*, xvii. 159; *Leyden Mſs. Rec.*]

[153] *Iohn Tilley* (ſee note 41). I find on the *Leyden Mſs. Records* this, "$\frac{13}{23}$ Feb., 1615, John Telley, ſilk worker of Leyden, married Bridget Van der Velde"; which may be the hint of this man's occupation and affiliation. Bradford does not give his wife's Chriſtian name.

[154] *Iohn Howland* came over as one of John Carver's men-ſervants, and had the narroweſt eſcape from drowning on the paſſage; married Elizabeth Tilley (ſee note 41) probably in 1621; 1633–5, was Aſſiſtant; often a Repreſentative; 1634, was in command of the Plymouth intereſt on the Kennebec, when Hocking was killed; died $\frac{23\ \text{Feb.}}{5\ \text{Mar.}}$, $167\frac{3}{4}$. He had ten children. — [Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, ii. 479; *N. E. Hiſt. and Gen. Reg.*, ix. 80.]

[155] *Richard Warren* came in the Mayflower; his wife Elizabeth and five daughters followed him in 1623, two ſons, Nathaniel and Joſeph, having come earlier. He was "an uſeful Inſtrument, and during his life bare a deep ſhare in the Difficulties and Troubles of the firſt Settlement of the Plantation," and died in 1628. —

Dotte,[156] and two of our Sea-men, *Iohn Alderton*[157] and *Thomas Engliſh*,[158] of the Ships Company there went two of the Maſters Mates, Maſter *Clarke*[159] and Maſter *Copin*, the Maſter Gunner, and three Saylers. The narration of which Diſcovery, followes, penned by one of the Company.[160]

Wedneſday the ſixt of December wee ſet out, being very cold and hard weather, wee were a long while after we launched from the ſhip, before we could get cleare of a ſandie poynt, which lay within leſſe then a furlong of the ſame.[161] In which time, two were very ſicke, and *Edward*

[Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, iv. 427; Morton's *Memorial*, 68.]

[156] *Edward Doten* came as a ſervant of Stephen Hopkins; $\frac{18}{28}$ June, 1621, was party to the firſt duel fought in New England; $\frac{6}{16}$ Jan., 1635, married, for ſecond wife, Faith, daughter of Triſtram Clark; 1652, was one of the purchaſers of Dartmouth, but removed to Yarmouth, and died, $\frac{23\ \text{Aug.}}{2\ \text{Sept.}}$, 1655. Bradford ſays he had ſeven children by his ſecond wife living in 1650; but his will mentions only wife and one ſon.—[Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, ii. 61; Bradford, *Plym. Plant.*, 455.]

[157] *Iohn Allerton* was hired by the company to come over as a ſailor, and was "to go back for the help of others behind," but "dyed here in the generall ſicknes."—[Bradford, *Plymouth Plant.*, 449, 454.]

[158] *Thomas Engliſh* had been hired alſo to come over to "goe maſter of the ſhalop," but died as did Allerton.

[159] *Maſter Clarke.* All that is *known* of this man is that he was a maſter's mate, and pilot, of the Mayflower; who had been to Virginia the year before. There is a tradition, mentioned by Morton [*Memorial*, 21], which is very likely true, that he landed firſt on Clarke's Iſland, in Plymouth harbor, which was named after him; there is another, leſs probable, that his name was Thomas; and one, almoſt ſurely falſe, that he ſettled here, and died in 1697, aged 98.—[Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, i. 400; Bradford, *Plym. Plant.*, 55.]

[160] "One of the company,"—either Bradford or Winſlow; Dr. Young thinks the former, and from various verbal correſpondencies between this narrative and Bradford's (now recovered) hiſtory, I have no doubt he was right.

[161] The "ſandie poynt" was neceſſarily Long Point, juſt inſide of which

Tilley had like [16] to haue ſounded[162] with cold; the Gunner was alſo ſicke vnto Death, (but hope of truking made him to goe) and ſo remained all that day, and the next night; at length we got cleare of the ſandy poynt, and got vp our ſayles, and within an houre or two we got vnder the weather ſhore,[163] and then had ſmoother water and better ſayling, but it was very cold, for the water froſe on our clothes, and made them many times like coats of Iron: wee ſayled ſixe or ſeaven leagues by the ſhore, but ſaw neither river nor creeke, at length wee mett with a tongue of Land,[164] being flat off from the ſhore, with a ſandy poynt, we bore vp to gaine the poynt, & found there a fayre income or rode, of a Bay, being a league over at the narroweſt, and ſome two or three in length, but wee made right over to the land before vs,[165] and left the diſcovery of this *Income* till the next day: as we drew neare to the ſhore, wee eſpied ſome ten or twelue

they lay at anchor. A north-eaſter was evidently blowing, and they could not lie cloſe enough into the wind to clear this point with ſails, and probably the wind and incoming tide together, made it hard for them to row their clumſy ſhallop out around it.

162 Swooned.

163 Striking acroſs toward Truro, as they came near the land they would gain ſome protection from the roughneſs both of the wind and ſea.

164 The intenſe diſcomfort which they experienced doubtleſs had its effect upon their eſtimate of diſtance. It is about ſeventeen to twenty miles from their anchorage to Billingſgate Point, — now cut off from the main into an iſland,—which muſt have been the "ſandy poynt" now made by them.

165 This "income," or bay, was the *cul de ſac* of Wellfleet Bay. "The land before us" was the eaſtern ſhore, and they probably landed and paſſed the night in what is now Eaſtham, a little north of Great Pond, and very near to the well-known Methodiſt Camp-meeting ground, about three miles due W. from Nauſet Light. — [Pratt's *Hiſtory of Eaſtham*, 6.]

Indians, very buſie about a blacke thing, what it was we could not tell, till afterwards they ſaw vs, and ran to and fro, as if they had beene carrying ſome thing away, wee landed a league or two from them, and had much adoe to put a ſhore any where, it lay ſo full of flat ſands,[166] when we came to ſhore, we made vs a Baricado,[167] and got fire wood, and ſet out our Sentinells, and betooke vs to our lodging, ſuch as it was; we ſaw the ſmoke of the fire which the Savages made that night, about foure or fiue myles from vs, in the morning[168] we devided our company, ſome eight in the Shallop, and the reſt on the ſhore went to diſcouer this place,[169] but we found it onely to be a Bay, without either river or creeke comming into it, yet we deemed it to be as good an harbour as Cape Cod, for they that ſounded it, found a ſhip might ride in fiue fathom water, wee on the land found it to be a levill ſoyle, but none of the fruitfulleſt; wee ſaw two beckes of freſh water,[170] which were the firſt running ſtreames that

166 "On the weſt ſhore is a ſandy flat reaching from Suet to the bounds of Wellfleet; it is about one mile wide, is bare, or nearly ſo, at low water, and then, for about three hours, may be traverſed by carriages."—[Freeman's *Cape Cod*, ii. 353.]

167 See note 78.

168 *Thurſday*, $\frac{7}{17}$ Dec.

169 That is, the "income" which had attracted their intereſt the night before, or Wellfleet Bay. Dr. Young thought they moved ſouth for ſome time, and then turned north toward Wellfleet; but that theory does not ſo well comport with the probability as to their firſt ſtarting, nor does it leave them where they evidently were at night.

170 "*Beck*, a ſmall river, a brook."—[*Bailey*.] Theſe two brooks were found, apparently, as they were moving northward from their camping-ground to inveſtigate the ſuitableneſs of Wellfleet as a place of ſettlement. In which caſe, the firſt would ſeem to

we ſaw in the Country, but one might ſtride over them: we found alſo a great fiſh, called a *Grampus* dead on the ſands,[171] they in the Shallop found two of them alſo in the bottome of the bay, dead in like ſort, they were caſt vp at high water, and could not get off for the froſt and ice; they were ſome [17] fiue or ſixe paces long, and about two inches thicke of fat, and fleſhed like a Swine, they would haue yeelded a great deale of oyle, if there had beene time and meanes to haue taken it, ſo we finding nothing for our turne, both we and our Shallop returned. We then directed our courſe along the Sea-ſands, to the place where we firſt ſaw the *Indians*, when we were there, we ſaw it was alſo a *Grampus* which they were cutting vp, they cut it into long rands[172] or peeces, about an ell[173] long, and two handfull broad, wee found here and there a peece ſcattered by the way, as it ſeemed, for haſt: this place the moſt were minded we ſhould call, the *Grampus Bay*, becauſe we found ſo many of them there: wee followed the tract of the *Indians* bare feete a good way on the ſands, at length we ſaw where they

have been Indian Brook (or Hatch's Creek), now the boundary-line between Eaſtham and Wellfleet; and the ſecond ſeems more likely to have been the next brook north of it, runing in at Freſh-Brook Village, than any ſouth of it, as Dr. Young ſuppoſed.—[*Chron. of Plym.*, 152.]

171 Dr. Young ſays, "Individuals of this ſpecies [*Delphinus grampus*] are ſometimes thrown aſhore on the Cape, twenty feet long, and having four inches of blubber."—[*Chron. of Plym.*, 152.]

172 "*Rand* (of beef), a long fleſhy Piece cut from between the Flank and the Buttock."—[*Bailey.*]

173 Forty-five inches.

ſtrucke into the Woods by the ſide of a Pond,[174] as wee went to view the place, one ſayd, hee thought hee ſaw an *Indian*-houſe among the trees, ſo went vp to ſee: and here we and the Shallop loſt ſight one of another till night, it being now about nine or ten a clocke, ſo we light on a path, but ſaw no houſe, and followed a great way into the woods,[175] at length wee found where Corne had beene ſet, but not that yeare, anone we found a great burying place, one part whereof was incompaſſed with a large Palazado, like a Church-yard, with yong ſpires[176] foure or fiue yards long, ſet as cloſe one by another as they could two or three foot in the ground, within it was full of Graues, ſome bigger, and ſome leſſe, ſome were alſo paled about, & others had like an *Indian*-houſe made over them, but not matted: thoſe Graues were more ſumptuous then thoſe at *Corne-hill*, yet we digged none of them vp, but onely viewed them, and went our way; without the Palazado were graues alſo, but not ſo coſtly: from this place we went and found more Corne ground, but not of this yeare. As we ranged we light on foure or fiue *Indian*-houſes, which had beene lately dwelt in, but they were vncovered, and had no matts about them, els they were like thoſe we found at *Corne-hill*, but had not beene ſo lately dwelt in,

174 Probably the party, having explored Wellfleet to their ſatisfaction, had made their way back along the ſhore until they were near Great Pond; juſt north of which they had ſlept.

175 Moſt likely in the direction of Enoch's Rock and Nauſet light.

176 Shoots, or young ſaplings.

there was nothing left but two or three peeces of old matts, a little ſedge, alſo a little further we [18] found two Baskets full of parched Acorns hid in the ground,[177] which we ſuppoſed had beene Corne when we beganne to dig the ſame, we caſt earth thereon againe & went our way. All this while we ſaw no people, wee went ranging vp and downe till the Sunne began to draw low, and then we haſted out of the woods, that we might come to our Shallop, which when we were out of the woods, we eſpied a great way off, and call'd them to come vnto vs, the which they did as ſoone as they could, for it was not yet high water,[178] they were exceeding glad to ſee vs, (for they feared becauſe they had not ſeene vs in ſo long a time) thinking we would haue kept by the ſhoreſide, ſo being both weary and faint, for we had eaten nothing all that day, we fell to make our Randevous[179] and get fire

177 "Akornes alſo they drie, and in caſe of want of Corne, by much boyling they make a good diſh of them: yea ſometimes in plentie of Corne doe they eate theſe Acornes for a novelty."—[Roger Williams, *R.-I. Hiſt. Coll.*, i. 90.]

178 Bradford ſays, "When ye ſune grue low, they haſted out of ye woods to meete with their ſhallop, to whom they made ſignes to come to them into a *creeke* hardby, the which they did at highwater; of which they were very glad, for they had not ſeen each other all yt day, ſince ye morning."—[*Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 84.]

179 Bradford's reference (juſt quoted) to a certain "creeke" gives the clue to the poſition of their rendezvous this night. Morton [*Memorial*, 19, marginal note] ſuggeſts Namſkeket as the creek referred to. But Namſkeket (which divides Orleans from Brewſter) ſeems too far off; while to reach it they would have been obliged to ford or go round three intervening creeks, ſome alluſion to which would have been almoſt ſure to have left itſelf upon the record. The probability is very ſtrong, then, that Morton was miſtaken, and that the firſt creek which they would come to in their

wood, which always coſt vs a great deale of labour,[180] by that time we had done, & our Shallop come to vs, it was within night, and we fed vpon ſuch victualls as we had, and betooke vs to our reſt, after we had ſet out our watch. About midnight we heard a great and hideous cry, and our Sentinell called, *Arme, Arme.* So we beſtirred our ſelues and ſhot off a couple of Muskets, and noyſe ceaſed; we concluded, that it was a company of Wolues or Foxes, for one[181] told vs, hee had heard ſuch a noyſe in *New-found-land.* About fiue a clocke in the morning[182] wee began to be ſtirring, and two or three which doubted whether their Peeces would goe off or no made tryall of them, and ſhot them off, but thought nothing at all, after Prayer we prepared our ſelues for brek-faſt, and for a journey, and it being now the twilight in the morning, it was thought meet to carry the things downe to the Shallop: ſome ſayd, it was not beſt to carry the Armour downe, others ſayd, they would be readier, two or three ſayd, they would not carry theirs, till they went them-

coaſting ſouthweſtwardly is that here referred to, viz., Great-Meadow Creek (or Herring River) in Eaſtham, one mile N. N. E. of Rock Harbor.

180 The trees were lofty, and the undergrowth was annually burned by the Indians, ſo that they doubtleſs found it difficult to gather wood ſuitable for their fire without felling large timber; which, with their tools, would be a ſlow and difficult taſk.

181 Dr. Young ſuggeſts either Clark or Coppin as this informant, as both had been on the coaſt before. But Bradford ſays, "*One of ye ſea men* tould them he had often heard ſhuch a noyſe in New-found land;" by which he doubtleſs referred to one of the "three ſaylers who accompanied the party." (See p. 45).—[*Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 84.]

182 *Friday*, $\frac{8}{18}$ Dec.

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ſelues, but miſtruſting nothing at all: as it fell out, the water not being high enough, they layd the things downe vpon the ſhore, & came vp to brek-faſt. Anone, all vpon a ſudden, we heard a great & ſtrange cry, which we knew to be the ſame voyces, though they varied their notes,[183] one of our company being abroad came running in, and cryed, *They are men, Indians, Indians*; [19] and withall, their arrowes came flying amongſt vs, our men ran out with all ſpeed to recover their armes, as by the good Providence of God they did. In the meane time, Captaine *Miles Standiſh*, having a ſnaphance[184] ready, made a ſhot, and after him another, after they two had ſhot, other two of vs were ready,[185] but he wiſht vs not to ſhoot, till we could take ayme, for we knew not what need we ſhould haue, & there were foure only of vs, which had their armes there readie, and ſtood before the open ſide of our Baricado, which was firſt aſſaulted, they thought it beſt to defend it, leaſt the enemie ſhould take it and our ſtuffe, and ſo haue the more vantage againſt vs, our care

Our firſt Combat with the *Indians.*

183 Bradford ſays, "A great & ſtrange crie, which they knew to be the ſame voyces they heard in ye night, though they varied their notes;" a verbal identity indicating his authorſhip of this portion of this "Relation." — [*Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 85.]

184 A *ſnaphance* [Dutch, *ſnaphaan*, "a ſnap-lock"] appears to have been the reſult of the firſt rude contrivance to fire a gun without "touching it off," like a cannon, with a match; preceding by ſome years the "flint-lock." It was invented by the Dutch, and ſtruck fire with a flint, but in a different, clumſier, and more uncertain way than the flint-lock, which was not introduced until Queen Elizabeth's time.

185 That is, had lighted their gun-match from the fire, and ſo made ready for a diſcharge.

was no leſſe for the Shallop, but we hoped all the reſt would defend it; we called vnto them to know how it was with them, and they anſwered, Well, Well, every one, and be of good courage: wee heard three of their Peeces goe off, and the reſt called for a fire-brand to light their matches, one[186] tooke a log out of the fire on his ſhoulder and went and carried it vnto them, which was thought did not a little diſcourage our enemies. The cry of our enemies was dreadfull, eſpecially, when our men ran out to recover their Armes, their note was after this manner, *Woath woach ha ha hach woach*:[187] our men were no ſooner come to their Armes, but the enemy was ready to aſſault them.

There was a luſtie man and no whit leſſe valiant, who was thought to bee their Captaine, ſtood behind a tree within halfe a musket ſhot of vs, and there let his arrowes fly at vs; hee was ſeene to ſhoote three arrowes, which were all avoyded, for he at whom the firſt arrow was aymed, ſaw it, and ſtooped downe and it flew over him, the reſt were avoyded alſo: he ſtood three ſhots of a Musket, at length one tooke as he ſayd full ayme at him, after which he gaue an extraordinary cry and away they went all,[188] wee followed them about a quarter of a

[186] One of the four who were at the barricado.

[187] Of this Mr. Trumbull ſays, "This is probably as nearly like what the Indians actually ſaid, or ſhouted, as a badly-frightened man would be likely to write from memory; but not near enough to warrant a plauſible gueſs at the meaning. As it ſtands, there is no reſpectable Indian to be got out of it."—[*Ms. letter.*]

[188] Johnſon, in his *Wonder-work-*

mile, but wee left ſixe to keepe our Shallop, for we were carefull of our buſineſſe: then wee ſhouted all together two ſeverall times, and ſhot off a couple of muskets and ſo returned: this wee did that they might ſee wee were not afrayd of them nor diſcouraged. Thus it pleaſed [20] God to vanquiſh our Enemies[189] and giue vs deliverance, by their noyſe we could not gueſſe that they were leſſe then thirty or forty, though ſome thought that they were many more yet in the darke of the morning,

ing Providence, gives the following account of this tranſaction. He ſays, "Now the Indians, whoſe dwellings are moſt neer the water-ſide, appeared with their Bowes bent and Arrowes one the ſtring, let fly their long ſhafts among this little company, whom they might ſoon have incloſed, but the Lord otherwiſe diſpoſed of it, for one Captaine Miles Standiſh having his fowling-peece in a reddineſſe, preſented full at them, his ſhot being directed by the provident Hand of the moſt high God, ſtrook the ſtouteſt Sachem among them one the right arme, it being bent over his ſhoulder to reach an Arrow forth his Quiver, as their manner is to draw them forth in fight, at this ſtroke they all fled with great ſwiftneſſe through the Woods and Thickets, then the Engliſh, who more thirſted after their converſion than deſtruction, returned to their Bote without receiving any damage." He gives no clue to his authority for this ſtatement, except to hint his obligation (poſſibly) to this very "Relation," ſaying, he "purpoſes not to ſpeake particularly, being prevented by the honoured Mr. Winſlow, who was an eyewitneſſe of the worke, &c." I think he got the fact of Standiſh's promptneſs in firing from this narrative, and added ſome vague tradition which had reached him as to its effect — which I diſcredit. The extreme particularity of the narration here is manifeſt (and Bradford is even more particular [*Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 86], yet does not mention this); and ſo important a circumſtance as Johnſon relates, if it had actually taken place, could hardly have failed to have thruſt itſelf into the record. — [See Johnſon, 2 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.*, ii. 67.]

[189] Samoſet afterwards informed the Pilgrims that theſe were *Naufet* Indians, and that their hoſtility was occaſioned by the fact that "one Hunt" had previouſly deceived them, and ſtolen ſome of their tribe and ſold them for ſlaves.

wee could not ſo well diſcerne them among the trees, as they could ſee vs by our fire ſide, we took vp 18. of their arrowes which we haue ſent to *England* by Maſter *Iones*, ſome whereof were headed with braſſe, others with Harts horne, & others with Eagles clawes[190] many more no doubt were ſhot, for theſe we found, were almoſt covered with leaues:[191] yet by the eſpeciall providence of God, none of them either hit or hurt vs, though many came cloſe by vs, and on every ſide of vs, and ſome coates which hung vp in our Baricado, were ſhot through and through. So after wee had given God thankes for our deliverance, wee tooke our Shallop and went on our Iourney, and called this place, *The firſt Encounter*, from hence we intended to haue ſayled to the aforeſayd theeuiſh Harbour,[192] if wee found no convenient Harbour by the

[190] No mention is here made of what ſeem to have been the commoneſt arrow-heads of the Indians, viz., flint; doubtleſs becauſe the Indians on the Cape were not favorably ſituated for procuring them. It was a great art to make them.—[See Schoolcraft's *Hiſt. Indian Tribes*, iii. 467.] Hutchinſon ſays, "After the arrival of the Engliſh, they made the heads of their arrows of braſs, faſtened them to a ſmall ſtick ſix or eight inches long, formed to fix into the end of the pithy elder, which they bound round to ſtrengthen it."—[*Hiſt. Maſs.*, i. 411.]

[191] The only ſenſe which I can affix to theſe words is to ſuppoſe that they found the arrows which they picked up had transfixed and ſtrung many leaves upon themſelves in their flight through the thick trees, where the dried leaves ſtill clung to the branches; and hence inferred that many more arrows had been ſhot, which the denſe thicket had wholly intercepted. As they had found the ſnow half a foot deep upon the ground ten days before (ſee p. 29), and there had been no weather to remove it, there muſt have been ſnow on the ground now, ſo that the arrows could not have bedded themſelves in leaves as they fell.

[192] Plymouth. See p. 42.

way, having the wind good, we ſayled all that day along the Coaſt about 15. leagues,[193] but ſaw neither River nor Creeke to put into, after we had ſayled an houre or two, it began to ſnow and raine, and to be bad weather;[194] about the midſt of the afternoone, the winde increaſed and the Seas began to be very rough, and the hinges of the rudder broke, ſo that we could ſteere no longer with it, but two men with much adoe were faine to ſerue with a couple of Oares, the Seas were growne ſo great, that we were much troubled and in great danger, and night grew on: Anon Maſter *Coppin* bad vs be of good cheere he ſaw the Harbour,[195] as we drew neare, the gale being ſtiffe, and we bearing great ſayle to get in, ſplit our Maſt in 3. peices, and were like to haue caſt away our Shallop, yet by Gods mercy recovering our ſelues, wee had the floud with vs, and ſtruck into the Harbour.

Now he that thought that had beene the place was deceived, it being a place where not any of vs had beene before, and comming into the Harbour, he that was our

193 They coaſted along within ſight of the ſhore all the way, ſo as to diſcover, if poſſible, ſome harbor, into which they might go. Thus coaſting, from the place of their "firſt encounter" in Eaſtham, to Manomet Bluff, which marks the ſouthern ſide of Plymouth Bay, would be fifteen leagues, good meaſure.

194 This thick weather came on before they were off Barnſtable, and they went by that inlet without ſeeing it; making the ſnow-ſtorm, which was not then "joyous but grievous," ſtill a bleſſing, in preventing them from ſettling (as they might have done had they gone in there) in a much leſs favorable place than Plymouth.

195 He probably recognized Manomet looming through the ſtorm, and after paſſing Manomet Point ſteered N. W. by Eliſha's Point to ſhoot in.

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Pilot did beare vp Northward,[196] which if we had continued wee had [21] beene caſt away, yet ſtill the Lord kept vs, and we bare vp for an Iland before vs, and

[196] Bradford ſays that Coppin and the firſt mate (Clark) "would have run her aſhore, in a cove full of breakers, before ye wind. But a luſty ſeaman which ſteered, bad thoſe which rowed, if they were men, about with her, or ells they were all caſt away; the which they did with ſpeed. So he bid them be of good cheere & row luſtly, for ther was a faire ſound before them, & he doubted not but they ſhould find one place or other wher they might ride in ſaftie. And though it was *very darke*, and rained ſore, yet in ye end they gott under ye lee of a ſmalle iland, and remained there all yt night in ſaftie. But they knew not this to be an iland till morning, but were devided in their minds; ſome would keepe ye boate for fear they might be amongſt ye Indians; others were ſo weake and could, they could not endure, but got a ſhore, & with much adoe got fire (all things being ſo wett) and ye reſt were glad to come to them; for after midnight ye wind ſhifted to the North-weſt, & it froſe hard."—[*Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 87.]

It has always been conſidered, on the authority of Morton [*N. E. Mem.*, 21], that this "cove full of breakers" was the cove ſtill exiſting between Saquiſh Point and Gurnet Head. But as Morton was miſtaken as to Namſkaket he may have been in this; and (with diffidence) I venture another theory. My objections to this cove are: (*a*) that approaching from the Sandwich ſhore, after rounding Manomet Point, they would have been moſt likely (eſpecially with the wind at the N. E., where it unqueſtionably was) to have ſteered in by Eliſha's Point, W. N. W., almoſt ſtraight for the end of the beach — which would have carried them a mile and a half S. W. from the cove referred to; (*b*) that the flood-tide (which they ſay they had with them), with the gale, would have ſwept them almoſt inevitably over toward the other ſide of the channel; (*c*) that if they were running "before ye winde" into the cove, as Bradford ſays, it muſt have been a cove on the S. W. and not on the N. E. ſide of the harbor-entrance; (*d*) that, when they came about, "ther was a faire ſound before them," which would be exactly true if the cove were on the beach, and they came about with their head toward Clark's Iſland, but which would not be true (unleſs Brown's Iſland were then an iſland and not a ſhoal, which is a mooted point) if the cove were eaſt of Saquiſh; (*e*) that the ſuppoſition that they were over in a cove near the extremity of the beach, and then bore up northward, exactly makes natural their ſtatement of bearing up "for an Iland before vs" (Saquiſh Point), and "recovering of that Iland," *i. e.*, getting

recovering of that Iland,[197] being compaſſed about with many Rocks, and darke night growing upon vs, it pleaſed the Divine providence that we fell vpon a place of ſandy ground, where our Shallop did ride ſafe and ſecure all that night, and comming vpon a ſtrange Iland[198] kept our watch all night in the raine vpon that Iland: and in the

by Saquiſh (a now obſolete ſenſe of the word "recover," ſee *Webſter*), they "fell upon a place of ſandy ground," &c., *i. e.*, they ran along the ſandy flat ſkirting Clark's Iſland on the W. and S.

If Morton had himſelf been preſent, or had received the ſtatement from one who was preſent, his authority could only be impaired by the ſuggeſtion that even perſons who are familiar with ſuch localities are liable to make miſtakes in regard to them in the denſe darkneſs and driving rain of a winter's ſtorm, — as many a ſad ſhipwreck has teſtified. But he was not there, nor is it ſure that he had his information from any one who was. It is quite as likely that — from this ſtatement above, that the pilot "did beare vp north-ward," — he, from his knowledge of the bay, judged that that courſe would land them between the Gurnet and Saquiſh, and ſo ſet it down; without conſideration of wind, tide, or other modifying circumſtances. If this "Relation" is not miſtaken in this ſtatement of the courſe which the pilot ſteered, my theory may indeed be ſhaken; but I hold it to be by no means impoſſible that Morton haſtily judged, and that the courſe ſteered here was miſapprehended in the darkneſs and confuſion; ſo that I venture to think it poſſible that the cove was ſome indentation then exiſting on the ſeaward ſide of the beach, near its terminus.

197 The extremity of Saquiſh, which would look like an iſland to them; which may indeed have been an iſland at that time by the waſh of the ſea acroſs its low connecting beach.

198 Clark's Iſland, named, Morton ſays [*N. E. Mem.*, 21], after the firſt mate of the Mayflower, becauſe he firſt ſtepped aſhore thereon. It contained, in 1687, 86¼ acres and 3 rods, and was anciently covered with red cedar, years ago ſold in Boſton for gate-poſts. Five or ſix of theſe ancient trees — the largeſt perhaps 6 feet in circumference, and 20 feet in hight — ſtill ſtand, in a gnarled and ſtunted condition. There is a huge old rock on the iſland, called, for ſome local reaſon, "Election Rock." The iſland is ſtill owned by the Watſon Family, who have been in poſſeſſion for many years. — [Thatcher's *Hiſt. Plym.*, 331; Gale's *Pilgrims' Firſt Year in N. E.*, 100.]

morning we marched about it, & found no Inhabitants at all, and here wee made our Randevous all that day, being Saturday,[199] 10. of December, on the Sabboth day[200] wee reſted,[201] and on Munday[202] we ſounded the Harbour, and found it a uery good Harbour for our ſhipping, we marched alſo into the Land, and found divers corne fields, and little running brookes,[203] a place very good for ſcituation,[204] ſo we returned to our Ship againe with good newes to the reſt of our people, which did much comfort their hearts.[205]

[199] *Saturday*, $\frac{9}{19}$ Dec. The Engliſh printers, among their many errors in printing the Mſs. of this "Relation," changed the full ſtop which muſt have been after Saturday here, to a comma; thus making an apparent error in date. It ſhould read, "being Saturday. 10. of December, on the Sabboth day, wee reſted," &c.; making the 10th qualify Sunday rather than Saturday.

[200] *Sunday*, $\frac{10}{20}$ Dec.

[201] The artiſts have, ſo far, overlooked this noble theme for a picture, — this Sabbath's reſt of ſuch a company, in ſuch a place, with ſo many motives for haſte.

[202] *Monday*, $\frac{11}{21}$ Dec. FOREFATHERS' DAY.

[203] There were at leaſt eight brooks running into the harbor which a reconnoiſſance of five or ſix miles along the ſhore would have revealed to them; viz., Eel River, running in in the inner angle made by the beach; Wellingſly; Town Brook, the copious outlet of Billington Sea; and five nameleſs rivulets N. W. of this, toward Jones River. The Pilgrims ſeem to have had no idea of digging wells to ſupply themſelves with water, but depended upon running ſtreams.

[204] Bradford ſays it was "a place (as they ſuppoſed) fitt for ſituation; at leeſt it was ye beſt they could find, and ye ſeaſon, & their preſent neceſſitie, made them glad to accepte of it." —[*Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 88.] This was written at leaſt ten years after this date of landing, and is modified by Bradford's later experience, which compelled a ſomewhat leſs cheerful view of the capabilities of the ſpot than they ſeem to have taken at the firſt.

[205] No one ſpecifies the exact date of their return. As they muſt, however, have ſpent the beſt part of Monday in their explorations, and would not be likely to ſtart at night, it ſeems

On the fifteenth day,[206] we waighed Anchor, to goe to the place we had diſcovered, and comming within two leagues of the Land, we could not fetch the Harbour, but were faine to put roome[207] againe towards *Cape Cod*, our courſe lying Weſt; and the wind was at North weſt, but it pleaſed God that the next day being Saturday the 16. day, the winde came faire, and wee put to Sea againe, and came ſafely into a ſafe Harbour; and within halfe an houre the winde changed, ſo as if we had beene letted[208] but a little, we had gone backe to *Cape Cod*. This Harbour is a Bay greater then *Cape Cod*, compaſſed with a goodly Land, and in the Bay, 2. fine Ilands vninhabited,[209] wherein are nothing but wood, Okes, Pines, Walnut, Beech, Saſifras, Vines, and other trees which wee know not; This Bay is a moſt hopefull place, innumerable ſtore of fowle, and excellent good, and cannot but bee of fiſh in their ſeaſons: Skote,[210] Cod, Turbot,[211] and Her-

probable that they ſailed on the morning of *Tueſday* $\frac{12}{22}$ Dec., and as they appear to have gone ſtraight acroſs the bay, — a diſtance of not more than twenty-ſix miles, — they probably reached the Mayflower before night of that day. They found that, while they had been exploring the Indian graves at Eaſtham, on the Thurſday previous, Mrs. Dorothy Bradford, the wife of the hiſtorian of the party, had found a watery grave by falling over the ſhip's ſide. — [*Prince*, 76.]

206 *Friday*, $\frac{15}{25}$ Dec.

207 Bradford probably wrote either "to put *round*," or "to *get* roome again towards *Cape Cod*;" which the printers marred as it ſtands.

208 "*Let*, to hinder." — [*Bailey*.]

209 Clark's Iſland and Saquiſh, — if the ſea then flowed acroſs the neck connecting it with Gurnet Head, as is not improbable. — [See note 197.]

210 This is, of courſe, a miſprint for *ſkate*, — the *Raia batis*, — which is edible, and which is ſtill caught off Plymouth.

211 The fiſh known as turbot (*Rhombus maximus*) in England, is not found

ring,[212] wee haue taſted of, abundance of Muſles the greateſt & beſt that ever we ſaw; Crabs and Lobſters, in their time infinite, It is in faſhion like a Cikle or Fiſh-hooke.[213]

Munday the 13. day, we went a land, manned with the Maiſter of the Ship, and 3. or 4. of the Saylers, we marched [22] along the coaſt in the woods, ſome 7. or 8. mile,[214] but ſaw not an *Indian* nor an *Indian* houſe, only we found where formerly, had beene ſome Inhabitants, and where they had planted their corne: we found not any Navigable River, but 4. or 5. ſmall running brookes

in our waters. The flounder (*Plateſſa plana*) ſomewhat reſembles the turbot in general appearance, and, being a harbor fiſh, it ſeems likelieſt to have been that here referred to, and not the halibut (*Hippogloſſus vulgaris*), which is only caught in deep water outſide, where the Pilgrims would have been leſs likely to fiſh, ſo long as they found an abundance nearer ſhore. The *New Engliſh Canaan* does indeed ſay, "there is a large ſized fiſh called Hallibut, *or Turbut:* ſome are taken ſo bigg that two men have much a doe to hale them into the boate, &c.;" but it ſtill ſeems to me more probable that our fathers, at their firſt landing, ſhould have called the flounder by this name.—[*Force*, II., v. 61.]

[212] The *Clupea elongata*, and *Aloſa vernalis*, or alewive. Of the latter, 800 barrels uſed to be taken in a ſingle year from Town Brook in Plymouth, as they were on their way up to Billington Sea, to ſpawn.—[Thacher's *Hiſt. Plym.*, 321.]

[213] If the whole ſweep of the bay, including the ſtretch of the beach on one ſide, and of the Gurnet on the other, is taken into the account, it is more like *two* ſickles, or fiſh-hooks.

[214] I conceive that they landed at the rock, and went toward Kingſton, although they could not have travelled more than five or ſix miles, even with all their irregularity of progreſs,—back from the ſhore and down again,—without coming to Jones's River. They would have been leſs likely, it ſeems to me, to go the other way—toward Manomet; becauſe they could eaſily ſee that the harbor came to a ſpeedy end on that ſide, while the ſhore of it ſtretched out of ſight in the oppoſite direction.

of very ſweet freſh water, that all run into the Sea: The Land for the cruſt of the earth is a ſpits depth, excellent blacke mold and fat in ſome places, 2. or 3. great Oakes but not very thicke, Pines, Wal-nuts Beech [215] Aſh, Birch, Haſell,[216] Holley, Aſp,[217] Saſifras, in abundance, & Vines euery where, Cherry trees,[218] Plum-trees,[219] and many other which we know not; many kinds of hearbes, we found heere in Winter, as Strawberry leaues innumerable, Sorrell,[220] Yarow,[221] Caruell,[222] Brook-lime,[223] Liver-wort,[224] Water-creſſes,[225] great ſtore of Leekes, and Onyons,[226] and an excellent ſtrong kind of Flaxe, and Hempe;[227] here is ſand, gravell, and excellent clay no better in the Worlde,[228] excellent for pots, and will waſh like ſope, and great ſtore of ſtone, though ſomewhat ſoft, and the beſt water that

[215] *Beech*, the *Fagus Sylvatica*, a clean, beautiful tree, though ſcarcely ſo long lived as many of its foreſt compeers. It is ſaid that it is never ſtruck by lightning.

[216] *Corylus Americana.*

[217] Probably the American aſpen *(Populus tremuliformis).*

[218] Perhaps the northern red cherry *(Ceraſus Pennſylvanica)* may have grown there; the black cherry *(Ceraſus ſerotina)* and choke-cherry *(Ceraſus Virginiana)* certainly did.

[219] *Prunus maritima*, and poſſibly alſo *Prunus Americana.*

[220] *Rumex acetoſella.*—[*Coll. Amer. Antiq. Soc.*, iv. 172.]

[221] *Achillea millefolium.*

[222] Chervil *(Chærophyllum ſativum)?* Prof. Tuckerman intimates [*Coll. Amer. Antiq. Soc.*, iv. 121] that the author is miſtaken in including "carvel" here.

[223] *Veronica beccabunga.*

[224] *Hepatica triloba.*

[225] *Naſturtium paluſtre*, or *Cardamine hirſuta.*—[*Coll. Amer. Antiq. Soc.* iv. 172.]

[226] *Allium tricoccum*, and *Allium Canadenſe.*

[227] *Linum Virginianum*, and perhaps *Apocynum cannabinum.*

[228] "There is in the center of the farm [that of I. L. Hedge, Eſq., in Plymouth] an immenſe maſs of clay, for the manufacture of brick, which is conducted on a large ſcale."—[Thacher's *Hiſt. Plym.* 313.]

ever we drunke, and the Brookes now begin to be full of fiſh; that night many being weary with marching, wee went abourd againe.

The next morning being Tueſday the 19. of December, wee went againe to diſcover further; ſome went on Land, and ſome in the Shallop, the Land we found as the former day we did, and we found a Creeke, and went vp three Engliſh myles, a very pleaſant river[229] at full Sea, a Barke of thirty tunne may goe vp, but at low water ſcarce our Shallop could paſſe: this place[230] we had a great liking to plant in, but that it was ſo farre from our fiſhing our principall profit, and ſo incompaſſed with woods, that we ſhould bee in much danger of the Salvages, and our number being ſo little, and ſo much ground to cleare, ſo as we thought good to quit and cleare[231] that place, till we were of more ſtrength; ſome of vs hauing a good minde for ſafety to plant in the greater Ile,[232] wee croſſed the Bay which there is fiue or ſixe myles ouer,[233]

229 Going over the ſame ground they had travelled the day before, in part, they came to Jones's River, which they could go up juſt about "three myles," including all its windings; though at the end of the three miles they would be ſcarcely half that diſtance, in a ſtraight line, from its mouth.

230 The village of Kingſton occupies this territory.

231 Dr. Young ſuggeſted that the word "not" was here omitted, making the true text, "ſo as we thought good to quit and *not* cleare that place," &c. It ſeems to me more probable that they uſed the verb "cleare" here in the not unknown ſenſe of "leaving," or "paſſing over, or away from;" as where Camillo ſays,—

"Your followers I will whiſper to the buſineſs;
And will, by twos and threes, at ſeveral poſterns,
Clear them o' the city," &c.
Winter's Tale, Act. I. Sc. 2.

232 Clark's Iſland.

233 It is juſt five miles acroſs the bay from the mouth of Jones's River

and found the Ile about a myle and a halfe, or two myles about, all wooded, and no freſh water but 2. or 3. pits, that we doubted of freſh water in Summer, and ſo full of wood, [23] as we could hardly cleare ſo much as to ſerue vs for Corne, beſides wee iudged it colde for our Corne, and ſome part very rockie, yet diuers thought of it as a place defenſible, and of great ſecuritie.

That night we returned againe a ſhip boord, with reſolution the next morning to ſettle on ſome of thoſe places, ſo in the morning,[234] after we had called on God for direction, we came to this reſolution, to goe preſently aſhore againe, and to take a better view of two places, which wee thought moſt fitting for vs, for we could not now take time for further ſearch or conſideration, our victuals being much ſpent, eſpecially, our Beere, and it being now the 19. of *December*. After our landing and viewing of the places, ſo well as we could we came to a concluſion, by moſt voyces, to ſet on the maine Land, on the firſt place, on an high ground, where there is a great deale of Land cleared, and hath beene planted with Corne three or four yeares agoe, and there is a very ſweet brooke runnes vnder the hill ſide,[235] and many delicate ſprings of as good water as can be drunke, and where we may harbour our Shallops and Boates exceeding well, and in this

to the inner ſhore of the Gurnet oppoſite to it; but it is ſcarcely three and three-quarters miles to Clark's Iſland.

[234] *Wedneſday*, $\frac{20}{30}$ Dec.

[235] This deſcription indicates that they pitched upon the high land below Burial Hill, and juſt N. W. of Town Brook.

brooke much good fiſh in their ſeaſons: on the further ſide of the river alſo much Corne ground cleared, in one field is a great hill,[236] on which wee poynt to make a platforme, and plant our Ordinance, which will command all round about, from thence we may ſee into the *Bay*, and farre into the Sea, and we may ſee thence *Cape Cod*:[237] our greateſt labour will be fetching of our wood, which is halfe a quarter of an Engliſh myle, but there is enough ſo farre off; what people inhabite here we yet know not, for as yet we haue ſeene none, ſo there we made our Randevous, and a place for ſome of our people about twentie, reſolving in the morning to come all aſhore, and to build houſes, but the next morning being Thurſday the 21. of *December*, it was ſtormie and wett, that we could not goe aſhore, and thoſe that remained there all night could doe nothing, but were wet, not having dai-light enough to make them a ſufficient court of gard,[238] to keepe them dry. All that night it blew and rayned extreamely; [24] it was ſo tempeſtuous, that the Shallop could not goe on land ſo ſoone as was meet, for they had no victuals on land. About 11. a Clocke the Shallop went off with much adoe with proviſion, but could not

[236] Burial Hill, 165 feet above the ſea level, and including about eight acres. A rude fort was early built on the S. W. ſummit, and in 1675, in Philip's War, a ſtrong ſtockade was erected there. It commands a moſt charming view of the town, the harbor, and the neighborhood.—[Thacher's *Hiſt. Plym.*, 324.]

[237] This is a common experience in a clear day.

[238] *Cour de garde*, a guard-houſe; conveying the double idea of ſhelter and ſecurity.

returne it blew ſo ſtrong, and was ſuch foule weather, that we were forced to let fall our Anchor, and ride with three Anchors an head.[239]

Friday the 22. the ſtorme ſtill continued, that we could not get a-land, nor they come to vs aboord: this morning Good wife *Alderton*[240] was delivered of a ſonne, but dead borne.

Saturday the 23. ſo many of vs as could, went on ſhore, felled and carried tymber, to provide themſelues ſtuffe for building.

Sunday the 24. our people on ſhore heard a cry of ſome Savages (as they thought) which cauſed an Alarm, and to ſtand on their gard, expecting an aſſault, but all was quiet.[241]

Munday the 25. day, we went on ſhore, ſome to fell tymber, ſome to ſaw, ſome to riue, and ſome to carry, ſo no man reſted all that day,[242] but towards night ſome as they were at worke, heard a noyſe of ſome *Indians*, which

[239] To add to the gloom of the ſtorm, on this day dies Richard Britteridge (ſee note 27, No. 34), the firſt of the company whom they bury at Plymouth.—[Prince (on authority of Bradford's pocket-book), *Annals*, pt. i. 80.]

[240] Mary, wife of Iſaac Allerton. (See note 27, No. 5.)

[241] Prince ſays, "This day (Lord's day, $\frac{24\ \text{Dec.}}{3\ \text{Jan.}}$) dies *Solomon Martin*, the ſixth and laſt who dies this month." The man intended is obviouſly Solomon *Prower* (ſee note 27, No. 9), ſervant of Mr. Chriſtopher *Martin*, whom Bradford, in his pocket-book note, on which Prince relied, by an inadvertence eaſy under the circumſtances, called by his maſter's name.—[Prince, *Annals*, i. 80.]

[242] "And ye 25. *day* began to erecte ye firſt houſe for commone uſe to receive them and their goods."—[Bradford, *Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 88.]

cauſed vs all to goe to our Muskets, but we heard no further, ſo we came aboord againe, and left ſome twentie to keepe the court of gard; that night we had a ſore ſtorme of winde and rayne.

Munday the 25. being Chriſtmas day, we began to drinke water aboord, but at night the Maſter cauſed vs to haue ſome Beere,[243] and ſo on boord we had diverſe times now and then ſome Beere, but on ſhore none at all.

Tueſday the 26. it was foule weather, that we could not goe aſhore.

Wedneſday the 27. we went to worke againe.

Thurſday the 28. of *December*, ſo many as could went to worke on the hill, where we purpoſed to build our platforme for our Ordinance, and which doth command all the plaine, and the *Bay*, and from whence we may ſee farre into the ſea, and might be eaſier impayled, having two rowes of houſes and a faire ſtreete.[244] So in the afternoone we went to meaſure out the grounds, and firſt, we

243 The ſtock was getting low, and neceſſitating ſcant allowance.

244 Dr. Young thought ſomething was omitted here. But he took their language as implying that they now commenced to build their ſtockade on the ſummit of Burial Hill, and ſo could not connect the "two rowes of houſes and a faire ſtreete" with that. It ſeems to me, however, that their language only implies that they commenced work on the ſlope of the hill, on the ſummit of which they intended by and by to build their "platforme for ordinance," and that they proceeded to lay out on that ſlope the firſt ſtreet, and the firſt lots, and to aſſign them to families and groups; this need being more preſſing than the other. The common houſe was now (rudely) complete, as their temporary ſhelter (with the ſhip) while building their ſeveral dwellings, and the time had come for the latter work.

tooke notice how many [25] Families they were, willing all ſingle men that had no wiues to ioyne with ſome Familie, as they thought fit, that ſo we might build fewer houſes, which was done, and we reduced them to 19. Families;[245] to greater Families we allotted larger plots, to every perſon halfe a pole in breadth, and three in length,[246] and ſo Lots were caſt where euery man ſhould lie, which was done, and ſtaked out; we thought this proportion was large enough at the firſt, for houſes and gardens, to impale them round,[247] conſidering the weaknes of our people, many of them growing ill with coldes, for our former Diſcoveries in froſt and ſtormes, and the wading at Cape *Cod* had brought much weakenes amongſt vs, which increaſed ſo every day more and more, and after was the cauſe of many of their deaths.

Fryday and Saturday,[248] we fitted our ſelues for our labour, but our people on ſhore were much troubled and diſcouraged with rayne and wett that day, being very ſtormie and cold; we ſaw great ſmokes of fire[249] made by

245 When they reached Cape Cod, there were eighteen husbands and wives in the company — beſides four fathers, each with one or more ſons; as the baſis of this claſſification into families.

246 This would give to ſuch a family as Carver's (numbering eight) a plot of 66 feet front, by 49½ feet in depth. Each perſon was to have ($8\frac{1}{4}$ feet by $49\frac{1}{2}$ feet) $408\frac{37}{100}$ ſquare feet.

247 Theſe grounds were meaſured out on the north and ſouth ſides of what is now Leyden Street. The firſt volume of the Plymouth Records of Deeds contains, in Gov. Bradford's handwriting, a rude plot of this ſtreet, with the names of ſeven of thoſe whoſe lots fell on the ſouth ſide.

248 *Friday*, $\frac{29\ \text{Dec.}}{8\ \text{Jan.}}$, *Saturday*, $\frac{30\ \text{Dec.}}{9\ \text{Jan.}}$, $16\frac{20}{21}$.

249 In the direction of Duxbury, on

the *Indians* about ſix or ſeaven myles from vs as we coniectured.[250]

Munday the firſt of *Ianuary*, we went betimes to worke, we were much hindred in lying ſo farre off from the Land, and faine to goe as the tyde ſerved, that we loſt much time, for our Ship drew ſo much water,[251] that ſhe lay a myle and almoſt a halfe off, though a ſhip of ſeaventie or eightie tun at high water may come to the ſhore.[252]

the north, or of Telegraph Hill, on the ſouth, as they could ſcarcely ſee that diſtance directly inland. As the Indians finally approached from the ſouth, it is perhaps more probable that they were now lurking in that direction.

250 Baylies ſays [*Memoir of Plym. Col.*, i. 61] that on the next day (*Sabbath*, $\frac{31 \text{ Dec.}}{10 \text{ Jan.}}$ $16\frac{20}{21}$) "they named their ſettlement PLYMOUTH, becauſe this place had been ſo called by Capt. Smith, who had previouſly ſurveyed the harbor; and they remembered the kindneſs which they had experienced from the people of Plymouth in England." But he gives no authority for this ſtatement. Mr. Palfrey [*Hiſt. New Eng.*, i. 172] diſcuſſes, at ſome length, the date of the aſſignment of this name, and evidently feels that it is wholly a matter of conjecture.

251 The Mayflower was of 180 tons. Bradford ſays, "Of burden about 9 ſcore." — [*Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 58.] If the harbor were then at all as now, or as it has been for the laſt hundred years, ſhe probably lay at anchor in the channel juſt inſide the end of the beach. Dr. Young, in ſuggeſting that ſhe lay in the "Cow Yard," diſregarded this fact of her diſtance from the landing; his ſuppoſition would nearly or quite double the "myle and almoſt a halfe" of which they ſpeak — if we ſuppoſe them to take the landing-rock as their point of departure.

252 Prince ſays [*N. E. Chron.* pt. ii. 96], "The year begins with the death of *Degory Prieſt*." (See note 27, No. 29.) Prieſt is ſet down in the Leyden Records as "from London," and had been many years a member of the Leyden company. It is on record, that, $\frac{4}{14}$ Nov., 1611, he married Sarah (Allerton) Vincent, widow of John Vincent; $\frac{16}{26}$ Nov., 1615, he was admitted a citizen of Leyden; and, in April, 1619, he (calling himſelf "a hatter") depoſes that he is forty years of age, and knows one Nicolas Claverly. This would make him from forty-one to forty-two when he died. — [*Leyden Mſs. Records.*]

Wednefday the third of *Ianuary*, ſome of our people being abroad, to get and gather thatch, they ſaw great fires of the *Indians*, and were at their Corne fields, yet ſaw none of the Savages, nor had ſeene any of them ſince wee came to this Bay.

Thurſday the fourth of *Ianuary*, Captaine *Miles Standiſh* with foure or fiue more, went to ſee if they could meet with any of the Savages in that place where the fires were made, they went to ſome of their houſes, but not lately inhabited, yet could they not meete with any; as they came home, they ſhot at an Eagle and killed her, which was excellent meat; It was hardly to be diſcerned from Mutton.[253] [26]

Fryday the fifth of *Ianuary*, one of the Saylers found aliue vpon the ſhore an Hering, which the Maſter had to his ſupper, which put vs in hope of fiſh, but as yet we had got but one Cod; we wanted ſmall hookes.[254]

Saturday the ſixt of *Ianuary*, Maſter *Marten*[255] was very ſicke, and to our iudgement, no hope of life, ſo Maſter *Carver* was ſent for to come abourd to ſpeake with him about his accompts, who came the next morning.

[253] It was ſome time ſince theſe poor men had taſted mutton!

[254] To this ſingle circumſtance much of their diſcomfort in regard to food was due.

[255] *Chriſtopher Martin* (ſee note 27, No. 9) was from Billericay, in Eſſex, joining the company in England. He had been ſelected with Carver and Cuſhman "to make ye proviſions for ye vioage," being choſen to repreſent the new Engliſh members of the company, "not ſo much for any great need of their help, as to avoyd all ſuſſpition or jeloſie of any partiallitie." Hence his deſire to confer with Carver in

Munday the eight day of *Ianuary*, was a very fayre day, and we went betimes to worke, maſter *Iones* ſent the Shallop as he had formerly done, to ſee where fiſh could be got, they had a greate ſtorme at Sea, and were in ſome danger, at night they returned with three greate Seales,[256] and an excellent good Cod, which did aſſure vs that we ſhould haue plentie of fiſh ſhortly.

This day, *Francis Billington*, having the weeke before ſeene from the top of a tree on an hie hill, a great ſea as he thought, went with one of the Maſters mates to ſee it, they went three myles, and then came to a great water, devided into two great Lakes, the bigger of them fiue or ſixe myles in circuit, and in it an Ile of a Cable length ſquare, the other three miles in compaſſe;[257] in their eſtimation they are fine freſh water, full of fiſh, and foule; a brooke[258] iſſues from it, it will be an excellent helpe for vs in time. They found ſeaven or eight *Indian* houſes, but not lately inhabited, when they ſaw the houſes they were in ſome feare, for they were but two perſons and one peece.

Tueſday the 9. Ianuary, was a reaſonable faire day,

reference to "his accompts." He died on the Monday following, $\frac{8}{18}$ Jan., $16\frac{20}{21}$.—[Bradford, *Plym. Plant.*, 56; Prince, *N. E. Chron.*, pt. ii. 96.]

256 A ſeal is not an uncommon ſight at this day along the Old Colony ſhores.

257 *Billington Sea* anſwers to this deſcription in every particular but that of diſtance; but its diſcoverers doubtleſs traveled three miles through the foreſt before they reached it. It is ſcarcely two miles S. W. from the town.

258 *Town Brook*, on whoſe northern bank they were ſettling.

and wee went to labour that day in the building of our Towne, in two rowes of houſes for more ſafety: we devided by lott the plot of ground whereon to build our Towne: After the proportion formerly allotted,[259] wee agreed that every man ſhould build his owne houſe, thinking by that courſe, men would make more haſt then working in common: the common houſe, in which for the firſt, we made our Rendevous,[260] being neere finiſhed wanted onely couering, it being about 20. foote ſquare, ſome ſhould make morter, and [27] ſome gather thatch, ſo that in foure days halfe of it was thatched, froſt and foule weather hindred vs much, this time of the yeare ſeldome could wee worke halfe the weeke.[261]

Thurſday the eleuenth, *William Bradford*[262] being at worke, (for it was a faire day) was vehemently taken with a griefe and paine, and ſo ſhot to his huckle-bone;[263] It was doubted that he would haue inſtantly dyed, hee got

259 See note 246.

260 This ſtood partly on the lot of late years occupied by the houſe of Capt. Samuel D. Holmes, on the ſouth ſide of Leyden Street, near the declivity of the hill toward the water ſide. — [Ruſſell's *Pilgrim Memorials*, 55.]

261 Gov. Dudley, in his letter to the Counteſs of Lincoln (of date $\frac{12}{22}$ March, $16\frac{30}{31}$), ſays the Plymouth ſettlers had "the favour of a calme winter ſuch as was never ſeen here ſince." — [*Force*, II., iv. 7.] Although they had many rainy days, the winter was doubtleſs more favorable than the average to their work. A paſſage in Winſlow's letter (near the cloſe of this volume — p. 62 of the original paging) corroborates that theory.

262 The abſence of the preliminary "Mr." from this name here (a title which they were ſcrupulous to beſtow upon thoſe who were entitled to it, by their cuſtom) is a ſtrong hint that Bradford was himſelf the modeſt penman of this part of this narrative.

263 Hip-bone.

colde in the former diſcoveries, eſpecially the laſt, and felt ſome paine in his anckles by times, but he grew a little better towards night and in time through Gods mercie in the vſe of meanes recovered.

Friday the 12. we went to worke, but about noone, it began to raine, that it forced vs to giue over worke.

This day, two of our people put vs in great ſorrow and care, there was 4. ſent to gather and cut thatch in the morning, and two of them, *Iohn Goodman*[264] and *Peter Browne*,[265] having cut thatch[266] all the fore-noone, went to

[264] *John Goodman* (note 27, No. 28) had a ſhare in the firſt diviſion of land, and had the firſt lot eaſt of Elder Brewſter, but died "in the general ſicknes," before the end of March. —[*Plym. Col. Rec.*, xii. 3; Prince, *N. E. Chron.*, pt. ii. 86; Bradford, *Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 454.]

[265] *Peter Browne* (note 27, No. 33) was brother of John, of Duxbury, and himſelf ſettled there. He married twice. His firſt wife's name appears to have been Martha; his ſecond's certainly was Mary. He was "amerced in 3*s.* fine" for not appearing at court $\frac{1}{11}$ Jan., $163\frac{2}{3}$, and the ſame ſum next day for the ſame offence; Jan. $\frac{7}{17}$, $163\frac{2}{3}$, a diſpute between him and Dr. Fuller, in their accounts, was referred to the arbitration of Robert Hicks and Francis Cooke; 25 March, 1633, he was taxed 18*s.*,—the higheſt tax being that of Iſaac Allerton, £3 11*s.*, and the loweſt 9*s.* He died in October, 1633, leaving an eſtate of £100. His widow Mary adminiſtered, and was ordered by the court to pay over, in truſt, for the uſe of Mary and Priſcilla, his firſt wife's children, £15 each; they being bound out, the one to Mr. John Done for nine years, the other to Mr. Will. Gilſon for twelve years. There were two children by the ſecond wife. William Brewſter became the widow's ſurety. It is my impreſſion that Mary married Eph. Tinkham of Middleborough; and Priſcilla, William Allin of Sandwich. —[*Plym. Col. Rec.*, i. 5, 7, 8, 10, 18; xii. 146, 186.]

[266] "*Thatch*, Straw, Reeds, &c. for covering Houſes."—[*Bailey.*] The coarſe graſs and flags which they could reap with their ſickles by the ſides of the brooks, and on the meadows bordering the ponds, were what they ſeem now to have been in purſuit of, for roofing their new houſes after the faſhion ſtill exiſting in the rude Engliſh cottages.

a further place, and willed the other two, to binde vp that which was cut and to follow them; ſo they did, being about a myle and a halfe from our Plantation: but when the two came after, they could not finde them, nor heare any thing of them at all, though they hallowed and ſhouted as loud as they could, ſo they returned to the Company and told them of it: whereupon Maſter *Leaver*[267] & three or foure more went to ſeeke them, but could heare nothing of them, ſo they returning, ſent more, but that night they could heare nothing at all of them: the next day they armed 10. or 12. men out, verily thinking the *Indians* had ſurpriſed them, they went ſeeking 7. or 8. myles, but could neither ſee nor heare any thing at all, ſo they returned with much diſcomfort to vs all. Theſe two that were miſſed, at dinner time tooke their meate in their hands, and would goe walke and refreſh themſelues, ſo going a litle off they finde a lake of water,[268] and having a great Maſtiffe bitch with them and a Spannell; by the water ſide they found a great Deere,

[267] An obvious miſprint for "Carver," though Prince indorſes it as it ſtands.—[*N. E. Chron.*, pt. ii. 97.]

[268] Dr. Young ſuppoſed this to be Murdock's Pond. But Murdock's Pond could not have been more than one hundred rods W. of their common houſe; while the two men were "about a myle and a halfe from the Plantation" before they began to wander further; ſo that Dr. Young's ſuppoſition is neceſſarily inadmiſſible. Lout Pond, which is a ſmall lake perhaps a quarter of a mile in length, a little E. of Billington Sea, ſeems to me beſt to fulfill the conditions of the narrative here. If they had been following up Town Brook a mile and a half, cutting thatch along its banks, they would be not more than half a mile from this pond, and might very naturally ſtroll over through the open woods towards it, as ſuggeſted, while eating their dinners.

the Dogs chaſed him, and they followed ſo farre as they loſt themſelues, and could not finde the way backe, they wandred [28] all that after-noone being wett, and at night it did freeze and ſnow, they were ſlenderly apparelled and had no weapons but each one his Cicle,[269] nor any victuals, they ranged vp and downe and could finde none of the Salvages habitations; when it drew to night they were much perplexed, for they could finde neither harbour nor meate, but in froſt and ſnow, were forced to make the earth their bed, and the Element their covering, and another thing did very much terrifie them, they heard as they thought two Lyons[270] roaring exceedingly for a long time together, and a third, that they thought was very nere them, ſo not knowing what to do, they reſolved to climbe vp into a tree as their ſafeſt refuge, though that would proue an intollerable colde lodging; ſo they ſtoode at the trees roote, that when the Lyons came they might take their opportunitie of climbing vp, the bitch they were faine to hold by the necke, for ſhee would haue beene gone to the Lyon; but it pleaſed God ſo to diſpoſe, that the wilde Beaſtes came not: ſo they walked vp and downe vnder the Tree all night, it was an extreame colde night, ſo ſoone as it was light[271] they trauailed againe, paſſing by many lakes and brookes and

269 With which to cut thatch.

270 Beyond doubt theſe were wolves, which then haunted the Old-Colony woods, and whoſe howling was as novel a ſound to theſe old-country ſettlers' ears as the roaring of lions would have been.

271 *Saturday*, $\frac{13}{23}$ Jan., $16\frac{20}{21}$.

woods, and in one place where the Salvages had burnt the ſpace of 5. myles in length, which is a fine Champion Countrey, and even.[272] In the after-noone, it pleaſed God from an high Hill[273] they diſcovered the two Iles in the Bay,[274] and ſo that night got to the Plantation, being ready to faint with travaile and want of victuals, and almoſt famiſhed with colde, *Iohn Goodman* was faine to haue his ſhooes cut off his feete they were ſo ſwelled with colde, and it was a long while after ere he was able to goe; thoſe on the ſhore were much comforted at their returne, but they on ſhip-boord were grieved as deeming them loſt; but the next day being the 14. of Ianuary,[275] in the morning about ſixe of the clocke the winde being very great, they on ſhip-boord ſpied their great new Randevous on fire, which was to them a new diſcomfort, fearing becauſe of the ſuppoſed loſſe of the men, that the Salvages had fiered them, neither could they preſently goe to them for want of water, but af- [29] ter 3. quarters of an houre they went, as they had purpoſed the day before to keepe the Sabboth on ſhore, becauſe now there was the greater number of people. At their landing they heard good tidings of the returne of the 2. men, and that

272 This very accurately deſcribes the characteriſtics of the country for ſeveral miles around Great South Pond as a center, four or five miles S. of Plymouth Rock.

273 Pinnacle Hill, juſt W. of South Pond?

274 See note 209.

275 They had intended this to be the date of their firſt ſervice on ſhore; but the alarm of this fire, and the fear on board ſhip that it was due to the ſavages, prevented, and poſtponed it until the next Sabbath.

the houſe was fiered occaſionally[276] by a ſparke that flew into the thatch, which inſtantly burnt it all vp, but the roofe ſtood and little hurt;[277] the moſt loſſe was Maiſter *Carvers* and *William Bradfords*, who then lay ſicke in bed, and if they had not riſen with good ſpeede, had been blowne vp with powder: but through Gods mercy they had no harme, the houſe was as full of beds as they could lie one by another, and their Muskets charged, but bleſſed be God there was no harme done.

Munday the 15. day, it rayned much all day, that they on ſhip-boord could not goe on ſhore, nor they on ſhore doe any labour but were all wet.

Tueſday, wedneſday, thurſday, were very faire Sunſhinie dayes, as if it had beene in Aprill, and our people ſo many as were in health wrought chearefully.

The 19. day,[278] we reſolved to make a Shed, to put our common proviſion in, of which ſome were alreadie ſet on ſhore, but at noone it rayned, that we could not worke. This day in the evening, *Iohn Goodman* went abroad to vſe his lame feete, that were pittifully ill with the cold he had got, having a little Spannell with him, a little way from the Plantation, two great Wolues ran after the Dog, the Dog ran to him and betwixt his leggs for ſuccour, he had nothing in his hand but tooke vp a ſticke, and threw at one of them and hit him, and they preſently ran both

276 "Caſually, accidentally."—[*Bailey.*]

277 That is, the rafters and framework of the roof, ſupporting the thatch.

278 *Friday*, $\frac{19}{29}$ Jan., $16\frac{20}{21}$.

away, but came againe, he got a paile bord[279] in his hand, and they ſat both on their tayles, grinning at him, a good while, and went their way, and left him.

Saturday 20. we made vp our Shed for our common goods.

Sunday the 21. we kept our meeting on Land.[280]

Munday the 22. was a faire day, we wrought on our houſes, and in the after-noone carried vp our hogsheads of meale to our common ſtore-houſe [30].

The reſt of the weeke we followed our buſineſſe likewiſe.

Munday the 29.[281] in the morning cold froſt and ſleete, but after reaſonable fayre; both the long Boate and the Shallop brought our common goods on ſhore.

Tueſday and wedneſday 30. and 31. of *Ianuary*, cold froſty weather and ſleete, that we could not worke: in the morning the Maſter and others ſaw two Savages, that had beene on the Iland nere our Ship, what they came for wee could not tell, they were going ſo farre backe againe before they were deſcried, that we could not ſpeake with them.

[279] "Pale-board,—ſet up for partitions in gardens, grounds &c., a pile or ſtake, &c."—[*Bailey*.]

[280] *Sabbath*, $\frac{21}{31}$ Jan., $16\frac{20}{21}$; the date of the firſt Sabbath-keeping in the common houſe on ſhore. All that Prince implies by his ſtatement [*N. E. Chron.*, pt. i. 80] is, that on Sabbath, $\frac{31\ \text{Dec.}}{10\ \text{Jan.}}$, thoſe who were on ſhore kept Sabbath there, without joining the majority in their ſervice in the ſhip. Now, as the majority were on ſhore, Elder Brewſter undoubtedly held their ſervice there for the firſt time.

[281] $\frac{29\ \text{Jan.}}{8\ \text{Feb.}}$, dies Roſe, the wife of Captain Standiſh.—[Prince, *N. E. Chron.*, pt. ii. 97.]

Sunday the 4. of *February*, was very wett and rainie, with the greateſt guſts of winde that ever we had ſince wee came forth, that though we rid in a very good harbour, yet we were in danger, becauſe our Ship was light, the goods taken out, and ſhe vnballaſed; and it cauſed much daubing of our houſes to fall downe.[282]

Fryday the 9. ſtill the cold weather continued, that wee could doe little worke. That after-noone our little houſe for our ſicke people[283] was ſet on fire by a ſparke that kindled in the roofe, but no great harme was done. That evening the maſter[284] going aſhore, killed fiue Geeſe, which he friendly diſtributed among the ſicke people; he found alſo a good Deere killed, the Savages had cut off the hornes, and a Wolfe was eating of him, how he came there we could not conceiue.

Friday the 16. day, was a faire day, but the northerly wind continued, which continued the froſt, this day after-noone one of our people being a fouling, and having taken a ſtand by a creeke ſide in the Reeds, about a myle and an halfe from our Plantation, there came by him twelue *Indians*, marching towards our Plantation, & in the woods he heard the noyſe of many more, he lay cloſe till they were paſſed, and then with what ſpeed he

282 The cracks between the logs of their houſes were "daubed" with clay mortar, which the driving ſtorm ſoftened and diſlodged.

283 As ſoon as the common houſe had been finiſhed, they had commenced work on other ſhelters, of which one, it ſeems, had been appropriated as a hoſpital.

284 Capt. Jones, of the Mayflower.

could he went home & gaue the Alarm, ſo the people abroad in the woods returned & armed themſelues, but ſaw none of them, onely toward the euening they made a great fire, about the place where they were firſt diſcovered: Captaine *Miles Standiſh*, and *Francis Cooke*,[285] being at worke in the Woods, comming home, left their [31] tooles behind them, but before they returned, their tooles were taken away by the Savages. This comming of the Savages gaue vs occaſion to keepe more ſtrict watch, and to make our peeces and furniture readie, which by the moyſture and rayne were out of temper.

Saturday the 17 day, in the morning we called a meeting for the eſtabliſhing of military Orders amongſt our ſelues, and we choſe *Miles Standiſh* our Captaine, and gaue him authoritie of command in affayres: and as we

[285] *Francis Cooke* (note 27, No. 17) brought with him only his ſon John. His wife Eſther, and children Jacob, Jane, and Eſther, followed in the Ann, in 1623; in 1626, he had Mary. Winſlow, in his *Hypocriſie Unmaſked* [96], ſays that "the wife of Francis Cooke, *being a Walloone*, holds communion with the church at Plymouth as ſhe came from the French to this day, by vertue of communion of churches." He was taxed 18*s*., $\frac{5 \text{ March}}{4 \text{ April}}$, 1633; only 9*s*. the following year; $\frac{1}{10}$ Oct., 1634, was appointed one of the layers-out of highways for Plymouth; is in the liſt of freemen, $\frac{7}{17}$ March, $163\frac{6}{7}$; $\frac{2}{12}$ May, 1627, was one of a jury "to ſet forth the heigh wayes;" $\frac{2}{12}$ Jan., $163\frac{7}{8}$, was on a jury for trial of Edward Shaw and Mark Mendloue for "felony" of 15*s*. from William Corvannell; often ſerved on juries, committees, and the "Grand Inqueſt;" was called by Bradford, in 1650, "a very olde man, and hath ſeene his childrens children have children;" was one of the firſt purchaſers of Dartmouth, 1652, and Middleborough, 1662; died $\frac{7}{17}$ April, 1663. His wife ſurvived him. —[Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, i. 445; *Plym. Col. Rec.*, i. 3, 8, 10, 28, 31, 46, &c.; ii. 7, 34, 40, 53, &c.; *N. E. Hiſt. and Gen. Reg.*, iii. 334; Bradford, *Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 453.]

were in conſultation here abouts, two Savages preſented themſelues vpon the top of an hill,[286] over againſt our Plantation, about a quarter of a myle and leſſe, and made ſignes vnto vs to come vnto them; we likewiſe made ſignes vnto them to come to vs, whereupon we armed our ſelues, and ſtood readie, and ſent two over the brooke[287] towards them, to wit, Captaine *Standiſh* and *Steven Hopkins*, who went towards them, onely one of them had a Musket, which they layd downe on the ground in their ſight, in ſigne of peace, and to parley with them, but the Savages would not tarry their comming: a noyſe of a great many more was heard behind the hill, but no more came in ſight. This cauſed vs to plant our great Ordinances in places moſt convenient.

Wedneſday the 21. of *February*, the maſter came on ſhore with many of his Saylers, and brought with him one of the great Peeces, called a *Minion*,[288] and helped vs to draw it vp the hill, with another Peece that lay on ſhore, and mounted them, and a ſaller[289] and two

286 By uniform tradition, this was Watſon's Hill, or Strawberry Hill, about one hundred rods a little W. of S. of their plantation. The Indian name is ſaid to have been *Cantaugcanteeſt.* — [2 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.*, iii. 177.]

287 Town Brook, which ſkirted their ſettlement on the ſouth, and the mouth of which harbored their ſhallop.

288 There were two ſizes of *minions*, — one of 3½-inch bore and 8 feet in length, carrying a ball weighing 3 lbs. 12 oz.; the ſmaller, of 3-inch bore, and 7 feet long. The firſt weighed about 1.000 lbs., and the ſecond about 800 lbs. — [*Bailey.*]

289 *Saker*, a ſort of great gun, of which there are three ſizes; (1) 4-inch bore, and 10 feet long; (2) 3-inch bore, and 9 feet long; (3) 3½-inch bore, and 8 feet long. — [*Bailey.*] Sa*ll*er is obviouſly a miſprint.

baſes;[290] he brought with him a very fat Gooſe to eate with vs, and we had a fat Crane, and a Mallerd, and a dry'd neats-tongue, and ſo wee were kindly and friendly together.[291]

Saturday the third of *March*, the winde was South, the morning miſtie, but towards noone warme and fayre weather; the Birds ſang in the Woods moſt pleaſantly; at one of the Clocke it thundred, which was the firſt wee heard in that Countrey, it was ſtrong and great claps, but ſhort, but after an houre it rayned very ſadly till midnight.

Wedneſday the ſeaventh of *March*, the wind was full Eaſt, [32] cold, but faire, that day Maſter *Carver* with fiue other went to the great Ponds,[292] which ſeeme to be excellent fiſhing-places; all the way they went they found it exceedingly beaten and haunted with Deere, but they ſaw none; amongſt other foule, they ſaw one a milke white foule, with a very blacke head:[293] this day ſome garden ſeeds were ſowen.

Fryday, the 16. a fayre warme day towards;[294] this morn-

290 "*Baſe* (with gunners), the ſmalleſt piece of ordnance, 4 Foot and a half long, the Diameter at the bore 1 Inch 1 Quarter; it weighs 200 Pounds, carries a ball 1 Inch 1-8th Diameter, and 5 or 6 Ounces Weight."—[*Bailey*.]

291 "Feb. 21. Die Mr. *William White*, Mr. *William Mullins*, with 2 more. And the 25th Dies *Mary*, the wife of Mr. *Iſaac Allerton*."—[Prince, *N. E. Chron.*, pt. ii. 98.]

292 Billington Sea, or, poſſibly, Great South Pond and its ſifterhood of lakes.

293 A ſpecies of gooſe anſwers well to this deſcription.

294 A compariſon with the ſimilar phraſe, thirteen lines above, renders probable here the omiſſion of the word "noone;" though "towards" has an old ſenſe of "nearly," "a little leſs than," which might make ſenſe if no ellipſis is inferred.

ing we determined to conclude of the military Orders, which we had began to conſider of before, but were interrupted by the Savages, as we mentioned formerly; and whilſt we were buſied here about, we were interrupted againe, for there preſented himſelf a *Savage*,[295] which cauſed an Alarm, he very boldly came all alone and along the houſes ſtraight to the Randevous, where we intercepted him, not ſuffering him to goe in, as vndoubtedly he would, out of his boldneſſe, hee ſaluted vs in Engliſh, and bad vs well-come, for he had learned ſome broken Engliſh amongſt the Engliſh men that came to fiſh at *Monchiggon*,[296] and knew by name the moſt of the Captaines, Commanders, & Maſters, that vſually come,

[295] *Samoſet (Sameſet, Summuſet, Sommerſet, Summerſaut)* was a native of Pemaquid, and chief and original proprietor of what is now the town of Briſtol, Me. He ſeems to have gone on board of Capt. Dermer's ſhip at Monhegan, when he was on his way to thoſe ſhores, with Squanto, on his pacific miſſion, $16\frac{19}{20}$; and to have been landed by Dermer on Cape Cod, when he redeemed there the ſhipwrecked Frenchmen from their ſavage captors (ſee note 69). This was only ſix months before the Mayflower arrived; and the Pemaquid chief ſtill lingered among his new friends, — delayed by that overruling Providence which needed him for the uſe of interpreter, to which he was now put. He was at "Capmanwagen" (Southport, Me.) when Levett was there, two years later; $\frac{15}{25}$ July, 1625, with Unnongoit, he executed the firſt deed ever made by an Indian to a white man, to John Brown of New Harbor; July, 1653, he ſold other land to William Parnall, Thomas Way, and William England, affixing (in a hand tremulous with age) his mark, in the form of a bow and arrow. He was dead before Philip's War. — [Thornton's "Ancient Pemaquid," *Me. Hiſt. Coll.*, v. 186–193; Sewall's *Ancient Dominions of Me.*, 102.]

[296] *Monhegan* Iſland *(Monchiggon, Monhiggon*, and *Morattiggon* were, clearly, forms of the ſame name) lies nine miles ſoutherly of George's Iſlands, five leagues eaſt ſouth-eaſterly of Townſend, and three leagues weſtwardly of Metinic, on the coaſt of

he was a man free in ſpeech, ſo farre as he could expreſſe his minde, and of a ſeemely carriage, we queſtioned him of many things, he was the firſt *Savage* we could meete withall; he ſayd he was not of theſe parts, but of *Morattiggon*, and one of the *Sagamores* or *Lords* thereof, and had beene 8. moneths in theſe parts, it lying hence a dayes ſayle with a great wind, and fiue dayes by land; he diſcourſed of the whole Country, and of every Province, and of their *Sagamores*, and their number of men, and ſtrength; the wind beginning to riſe a little, we caſt a horſemans coat about him, for he was ſtarke naked, onely a leather about his waſt, with a fringe about a ſpan long, or little more; he had a bow & 2 arrowes, the one headed, and the other vnheaded; he was a tall ſtraight man, the haire of his head blacke, long behind, onely ſhort before, none on his face at all; he asked ſome beere, but we gaue him ſtrong water, and bisket, and butter, and cheeſe, & pudding, and a peece of a mallerd, all which he liked well, and had bin acquainted with ſuch amongſt the Engliſh; he told vs the [33] place where we now liue, is called, *Patuxet*,[297] and that about foure

Maine. It contains more than one thouſand acres of good land, with a bold ſhore.—[Williamſon's *Hiſt. Me.*, i. 61.]

[297] *Patuxet* (elſewhere as Savage [Appendix to *Winthrop*, ii. 478] gives it, *Patackoſi* [*Patackoſet?*]) is probably of different compoſition from *Pawtucket, i. e.* "at the little falls." *Petuhqui*, or *Puttukque*, ſignifying "round," is a common element in Indian names, as a preface of "rock," "hill," "lake," &c. "Probably *Patuxet* ſhould be reſolved into *Puttukq-ſomething*,—it is difficult to ſay what. John Smith (1616) gives *Accomack* as

yeares agoe, all the Inhabitants dyed of an extraordinary plague,[298] and there is neither man, woman, nor childe remaining, as indeed we haue found none, ſo as there is none to hinder our poſſeſſion, or to lay claime vnto it; all the after-noone we ſpent in communication with him, we would gladly haue beene rid of him at night, but he was not willing to goe this night, then we thought to carry him on ſhip-boord, wherewith he was well content, and went into the Shallop, but the winde was high and water ſcant, that it could not returne backe: we lodged him that night at *Steven Hopkins* houſe,[299] and watched him; the next day he went away backe to the *Maſaſoits*,[300] from whence he ſayd he came, who are our next bordering neighbours: they are ſixtie ſtrong, as he ſayth:

the Indian name of Plymouth [3 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.*, vi. 119]. This name was probably given to it by the Maſſachuſetts, or other northern tribes, to whom Plymouth and the Cape would be "land beyond," or "on the other ſide of the bay." Cotton, who learned what little Indian he knew, at Plymouth, gives *Ompaām* as the Indian name [3 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.*, ii. 232]. This was, moſt likely, of later origin, — given to the place as the capital, or ſeat of government, of the colony; ſignifying, probably, "the place of tribute," or "of acknowledging ſovereignty."

298 See Capt. Dermer's ſtatement, in *Purchas* [iv. 1778]; Capt. Smith's ſtatement [*Advertiſements for the unexperienced*, &c., 9]; Higginſon's *New-Englands Plantation* [*Force*, I., xii. 12]; Morton's *New Engliſh Canaan* [*Force*, II., v. 18]; Johnſon's *Wonder-working Providence* [2 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.*, ii. 66]; Gookin's *Hiſtorical Collections* [1 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.*, i. 122, 148]; the Great Patent of New England [Brigham's *Compact*, &c., 3], and *Hutchinſon* [i. 38].

299 This makes it probable that they had already completed ſome of their cottages, and that families had moved into them.

300 This name was here naturally given to the *Wampanoags*, as being Maſſaſoit's men, unleſs, as Dr. Young ſuppoſes, the Engliſh did not quite comprehend Samoſet's broken Engliſh.

the *Nauſites*[301] are as neere South-eaſt of them, and are a hundred ſtrong, and thoſe were they of whom our people were encountred, as we before related. They are much incenſed and provoked againſt the Engliſh, and about eyght moneths agoe ſlew three Engliſh men, and two more hardly eſcaped by flight to *Monhiggon*; they were Sir *Ferdinando Gorge* his men,[302] as this Savage told vs, as he did likewiſe of the *Huggerie*, that is, *Fight*,[303] that our diſcoverers had with the *Nauſites*, & of our tooles that were taken out of the woods,[304] which we willed him ſhould be brought againe, otherwiſe, we would right our ſelues. Theſe people are ill affected towards the Engliſh, by reaſon of one *Hunt*,[305] a maſter of a ſhip, who deceived the people, and got them vnder colour of truking with

[301] Thoſe centering about *Nauſet*, or Eaſtham; the Cape Indians.

[302] See Belknap's *American Biography* [i. 346–393]; Gorge's *Brief Narration* [3 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.*, vi. 45–93], and Prince, *N. E. Chron.* [pt. 1. 67], for accounts of this fight of the Indians with Capt. Dermer and his men.

[303] *To hugger* (Provincial Engliſh), to lie in ambuſh, &c. — [*Webſter*]. The reference is to "the firſt encounter" [p. 52].

[304] See p. 80.

[305] *Thomas Hunt* was maſter of the ſhip in Capt. Smith's company, in 1614, that "ſtayed to fit her ſelfe for Spaine with the dry fiſh which was ſold at *Maligo* at forty Rialls the Quintall;" but, as Smith ſays, to prevent a plantation here, and keep "this abounding Countrey" for himſelf and ſome few merchants, he "betraied foure and twenty of thoſe poore Saluages aboord his ſhip, and moſt diſhoneſtly and inhumanely for their kind vſage of me [Smith] and all our men, caried them with him to *Maligo*, and there for a little priuate gaine ſold thoſe ſilly Saluages for Rials of eight; but this vilde act kept him ever after from any more imploiment to thoſe parts." — [*Generall Hiſtorie*, 204.] The *Brief Relation* of the Preſident and Council for New England, ſtates that the friars, when it was found whence theſe ſlaves were come, took ſome of them, and inſtructed them in

them, twentie out of this very place where we inhabite, and ſeaven men from the *Nauſites*, and carried them away, and ſold them for ſlaues, like a wretched man (for 20. pound a man) that cares not what miſchiefe he doth for his profit.

Saturday in the morning we diſmiſſed the Salvage, and gaue him a knife, a bracelet, and a ring; he promiſed within a night or two to come againe, and to bring with him ſome of the *Maſſaſoyts* our neighbours, with ſuch Beuers skins as they had to trucke with vs. [34]

Saturday and Sunday[306] reaſonable fayre dayes. On this day[307] came againe the Savage, and brought with him fiue other tall proper men, they had every man a Deeres skin on him, and the principall of them had a wild Cats skin, or ſuch like on the one arme; they had moſt of them long hoſen vp to their groynes, cloſe made; and aboue their groynes to their waſt another leather, they were altogether like the *Iriſh*-trouſes;[308] they are of

the Chriſtian faith. Some got over to England, and proved of great ſervice to Gorges and others. — [*Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.*, xix. 6; xxvi. 58, 61, 132.]

306 *Saturday*, $\frac{17}{27}$, *Sunday*, $\frac{18}{28}$ March, 1621.

307 That is, as the narrative ſhows, on Sunday.

308 "They make ſhooes of Deeres ſkinnes, very handſomly and commodious, and of ſuch deeres ſkinnes as they dreſs bare, they make ſtockinges, that comes within their ſhooes, like a ſtirrop ſtockinge, and is faſtned above at their belt, which is about their middell. . . . Thoſe garments they allwayes put on when they goe a huntinge to keepe their ſkinnes from the bruſh of the Shrubbs, and when they have their Apparrell one, they look like Iriſh in their trouſes, the Stockings join ſo to their breeches."—[Morton's *New Engliſh Canaan*, Force, II., v. 22.]

complexion like our Engliſh Gipſeys, no haire or very little on their faces, on their heads long haire to their ſhoulders, onely cut before ſome truſſed vp before with a feather, broad wiſe, like a fanne, another a fox tayle hanging out: theſe left (according to our charge giuen him before) their Bowes and Arrowes a quarter of a myle from our Towne, we gaue them entertaynement as we thought was fitting them, they did eate liberally of our Engliſh victuals, they made ſemblance vnto vs of friendſhip and amitie; they ſong & danced after their maner like Anticks;[309] they brought with them in a thing like a Bow-caſe (which the principall of them had about his waſt) a little of their Corne pownded to Powder, which put to a little water they eate;[310] he had a little Tobacco in a bag, but none of them drunke[311] but when he lifted, ſome of them had their faces paynted black, from the forehead to the chin, foure or fiue fingers broad; others after other faſhions, as they liked; they brought three or

309 "*Antick*, a Buffoon."—[*Bailey*.]

310 "*Nókehick*, parch'd meal, which is a readie very wholeſome food, which they eate with a little water, hot or cold; I have travelled with neere 200 of them at once, neere 100 miles through the woods, every man carrying a *little Baſket* of this at his *back*, and ſometimes in a hollow *Leather Girdle* about his middle, ſufficient for a man for three or four daies. With this readie proviſion, and their *Bow* and *Arrowes*, are they readie for *War* and *travell* at an *houres* warning. With a *ſpoonfull* of this *meale*, and a *ſpoonfull* of water from the *Brooke*, have I made many a good dinner and ſupper."—[Roger Williams, *R.-I. Hiſt. Coll.*, i. 33.]

311 "Anthony Thacher and George Sole were choſen a comittee to draw vp an order concerning diſorderly *drinking* of tobacco."—[*Plym. Col. Rec.*, ii. 108.] "Drinking" tobacco was then the common term for ſmoking it.

foure skins, but we would not trucke with them at all that day, but wiſhed them to bring more, and we would trucke for all, which they promiſed within a night or two, and would leaue theſe behind them, though we were not willing they ſhould, and they brought vs all our tooles againe which were taken in the Woods, in our mens abſence, ſo becauſe of the day we diſmiſſed them ſo ſoone as we could. But *Samoſet* our firſt acquaintance, eyther was ſicke, or fayned himſelfe ſo, and would not goe with them, and ſtayed with vs till Wedneſday morning:[312] Then we ſent him to them, to know the reaſon they came not according to their words, and we gaue him an hat, a payre of ſtockings and ſhooes, a ſhirt, and a peece of cloth to tie about his waſt. [35]

The Sabboth day, when we ſent them from vs, wee gaue every one of them ſome trifles, eſpecially, the principall of them, we carried them along with our Armes to the place where they left their Bowes and Arrowes, whereat they were amazed, and two of them began to ſlinke away, but that the other called them, when they tooke their Arrowes, we bad them farewell, and they were glad, and ſo with many thankes giuen vs they departed, with promiſe they would come againe.

Munday and tueſday proved fayre dayes, we digged our grounds, and ſowed our garden ſeeds.

Wedneſday a fine warme day, we ſent away *Samoſet.*

[312] *Wedneſday*, $\frac{21}{31}$ March, 1621.

That day we had againe a meeting, to conclude of lawes and orders for our ſelues, and to confirme thoſe Military Orders that were formerly propounded, and twiſe broken off by the Savages comming, but ſo we were againe the third time, for after we had beene an houre together, on the top of the hill over againſt vs [313] two or three Savages preſented themſelues, that made ſemblance of daring vs, as we thought, ſo Captaine *Standiſh* with another, with their Muskets went over to them, with two of the maſters mates that follows them without Armes, having two Muskets with them, they whetted and rubbed their Arrowes and Strings, and made ſhew of defiance, but when our men drew nere them, they ranne away. Thus we were againe interrupted by them; this day with much adoe we got our Carpenter that had beene long ſicke of the ſcurvey, to fit our Shallop, to fetch all from aboord.[314]

Thurſday the 22. of *March*, was a very fayre warme day. About noone we met againe about our publique buſineſſe, but we had ſcarce beene an houre together, but *Samoſet* came againe, and *Squanto*,[315] the onely natiue of

[313] See note 285.

[314] This indicates the time when the whole company was transferred from the ſhip to the ſhore, and their colonizing became complete.

[315] *Squanto* (*Squantum*, *Tiſquantum*, *Taſquantum*, &c.) was clearly one of five Indians who had been carried to England by Capt. George Waymouth in 1605. Whether he came back and was taken off again by Hunt, or whether there is ſome confuſion in the narrative, is not certain. He was of great ſervice to the colony, though ambitious and meddleſome. He died in November, 1622; his laſt requeſt

Patuxat, where we now inhabite, who was one of the twentie Captiues that by *Hunt* were carried away, and had beene in *England* & dwelt in *Cornehill* with maſter *Iohn Slanie*[316] a Marchant, and could ſpeake a little Engliſh, with three others, and they brought with them ſome few skinnes to trucke, and ſome red Her- [36] rings newly taken and dryed, but not ſalted, and ſignified vnto vs, that their great Sagamore *Maſaſoyt*[317] was hard by, with *Quadequina* his brother, and all their men. They could not well expreſſe in Engliſh what they would, but after an houre the King came to the top of an hill over againſt vs, and had in his trayne ſixtie men, that wee could well behold them, and they vs: we were not willing to

being that Gov. Bradford would pray that he might go to the Engliſhman's God in heaven. *Squantam* (contracted from *muſquantam*, "he is angry," "he is bloody-minded") was the name of an Indian god.—[Drake's *Ind. Biog.* 69, 78, 79; Trumbull, *Ms. letter.*]

[316] "The worſhippeful John Slany, of London, merchant," was Treaſurer of the Newfoundland Company.—[*Purchas*, iv. 1876.]

[317] *Maſſaſoit* (*Meſſaſoyt*, *Maſſaſoyet*, *Wooſamequin*, *Uſſamequin*, *Aſhumequin*, *Oſamekin*, &c., &c.) was ſachem of the *Wampanoags*, and had his principal reſidence at *Sowams* (now Warren, R. I.), in *Pokanoket*. We know nothing of him previous to this date, unleſs he were one of the "two kings" mentioned by Capt. Dermer, in Purchas. In 1623 he was very ſick; and Winſlow viſited him and preſcribed for him, and he recovered, and attributed his life to this attention. He ſold much land to the Engliſh at various times, and always ſcrupulouſly, and moſt honorably, kept his treaty engagements with them. He ſeems to have died in the latter part of 1661, or the former part of 1662. He left two ſons,—Alexander, whoſe reign was but of a few months; and Philip, famous in the bloody hiſtory of 1675–6. He had two brothers, —*Akkompoin (Unkompoen)*, whom "some briſk Bridgwater Lads" killed in 1676; and a younger one, *Quadequina*, who accompanied *Maſſaſoit* at this time to Plymouth.—[Drake's *Book of Indians*, 81–92; Church's *Entertaining Paſſages*, 38, &c.]

ſend our governour to them, and they vnwilling to come to vs, ſo *Squanto* went againe vnto him, who brought word that wee ſhould ſend one to parley with him, which we did, which was *Edward Winſloe*, to know his mind, and to ſignifie the mind and will of our governour, which was to haue trading and peace with him. We ſent to the King a payre of Kniues, and a Copper Chayne, with a Iewell at it. To *Quadequina* we ſent likewiſe a Knife and a Iewell to hang in his eare, and withall a Pot of ſtrong water, a good quantitie of Bisket, and ſome butter, which were all willingly accepted: our Meſſenger made a ſpeech vnto him, that King IAMES ſaluted him with words of loue and Peace, and did accept of him as his Friend and Alie, and that our Governour deſired to ſee him and to trucke with him, and to confirme a Peace with him, as his next neighbour: he liked well of the ſpeech and heard it attentiuely, though the Interpreters did not well expreſſe it; after he had eaten and drunke himſelfe, and giuen the reſt to his company, he looked vpon our meſſengers ſword and armour which he had on, with intimation of his deſire to buy it, but on the other ſide, our meſſenger ſhewed his vnwillingnes to part with it: In the end he left him in the cuſtodie of *Quadequina* his brother, and came over the brooke, and ſome twentie men following him, leaving all their Bowes and Arrowes behind them. We kept ſix or ſeaven as hoſtages for our meſſenger; Captaine *Standiſh* and maſter *William-*

ſon[318] met the King at the brooke, with halfe a dozen Musketiers, they ſaluted him and he them, ſo one going over, the one on the one ſide, and the other on the other, conducted him to an houſe then in building, where we placed a greene Rugge, and three or foure Cuſhions, then inſtantly came our [37] Governour with Drumme and Trumpet after him, and ſome few Musketiers. After ſalutations, our Governour kiſſing his hand, the King kiſſed him, and ſo they ſat downe. The Governour called for ſome ſtrong water, and drunke to him, and he drunke a great draught that made him ſweate all the while after, he called for a little freſh meate, which the King did eate willingly, and did giue his followers. Then they treated of Peace, which was;

The agreements of peace betweene vs and Maſſafoyt.

1. That neyther he nor any of his ſhould iniure or doe hurt to any of our people.

2. And if any of his did hurt to any of ours, he ſhould ſend the offender, that we might puniſh him.

3. That if any of our Tooles were taken away when our people were at worke, he ſhould cauſe them to be reſtored, and if ours did any harme to any of his, wee would doe the like to them.

[318] No man of this name was of the party. There was, indeed, a Thomas Williams (note 27, No. 30), but he died early in the general ſickneſs [Bradford, *Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 454]; and he would not have been honored with the title here given, had he been now able to go on ſuch ſervice (which is very doubtful). It is more likely, as Dr. Young ſuggeſts, that the *Ms.* read "Maſter Allerton," and was miſapprehended and miſprinted into this.

4. If any did vniuſtly warre againſt him, we would ayde him; If any did warre againſt vs, he ſhould ayde vs.

5. He ſhould ſend to his neighbour Confederates, to certifie them of this, that they might not wrong vs, but might be likewiſe compriſed in the conditions of Peace.

6. That when their men came to vs, they ſhould leaue their Bowes and Arrowes behind them, as wee ſhould doe our Peeces when we came to them.

Laſtly, that doing thus, King IAMES would eſteeme of him as his friend and Alie:[319] all which the King ſeemed to like well, and it was applauded of his followers, all the while he ſat by the Governour he trembled for feare: In his perſon he is a very luſtie man, in his beſt yeares, an able body, graue of countenance, and ſpare of ſpeech: In his Attyre little or nothing differing from the reſt of his followers, only in a great Chaine of white bone Beades about his necke, and at it behinde his necke, hangs a little bagg of Tobacco, which he dranke and gaue vs to drinke;[320] his face was paynted with a ſad red like murry,[321] and oyled both head and face, that hee looked greaſily: All his followers likewiſe, were in their faces, in part or in whole painted, ſome blacke, ſome [38] red,

319 This "auncient league & confederacy" was formally ratified and renewed, on application of Maſſaſoit and his oldeſt ſon, by the Plymouth court, $\frac{25\ \text{Sept.}}{5\ \text{Oct.}}$, 1639.—[Morton's *N. E. Memorial*, 112; *Plym. Col. Rec.*, i. 133.]

320 See note 310.

321 A "sad" red was a *deep* red ("of a deep color." [*Bailey*]). "*Murrey*, is in Latin called *color ſanguineus*, is accounted a princely color." [*Bailey.*] "A dark red color, from Lat. *morum*, mulberry."—[*Webſter.*]

ſome yellow, and ſome white, ſome with croſſes, and other Antick[322] workes, ſome had skins on them, and ſome naked, all ſtrong, tall, all men in appearance: ſo after all was done, the Governour conducted him to the Brooke, and there they embraced each other and he departed: we diligently keeping our hoſtages, wee expected our meſſengers comming, but anon word was brought vs, that *Quaddequina* was comming, and our meſſenger was ſtayed till his returne, who preſently came and a troupe with him, ſo likewiſe wee entertained him, and convayed him to the place prepared; he was very fearefull of our peeces, and made ſignes of diſlike, that they ſhould be carried away, whereupon Commandement was given, they ſhould be layd away. He was a very proper tall young man, of a very modeſt and ſeemely countenance, and he did kindely like of our entertainement, ſo we convayed him likewiſe as wee did the King, but diuers of their people ſtayed ſtill, when hee was returned, then they diſmiſſed our meſſenger. Two of his people would haue ſtayed all night, but wee would not ſuffer it: one thing I forgot, the King had in his boſome hanging in a ſtring, a great long knife; hee marveiled much at our Trumpet, and ſome of his men would ſound it as well as they could, *Samoſet* and *Squanto*, they ſtayed al night with vs, and the King and al his men lay all night in the woods, not aboue halfe an Engliſh myle from vs, and all their wiues and women

[322] See note 308.

with them, they ſayd that within 8. or 9. dayes, they would come and ſet corne on the other ſide of the Brooke, and dwell there all Summer, which is hard by vs: That night we kept good watch, but there was no appearance of danger; the next morning[323] divers of their people came over to vs, hoping to get ſome victuales as wee imagined, ſom of them told vs the King would haue ſome of vs come ſee him; Captaine *Standiſh* and *Iſaac Alderton*[324] went venterouſly, who were welcommed of him after their manner: he gaue them three or foure ground Nuts,[325] and ſome Tobacco. Wee cannot yet conceiue, but that he is willing to haue peace with vs, for they haue ſeene our people ſometimes alone two or three in [39] the woods at worke and fowling, when as they offered them no harme as they might eaſily haue done, and eſpecially becauſe hee hath a potent Adverſary the *Narowhiganſeis*,[326] that are at warre with him, againſt

323 *Friday* 23 March. 2 April.

324 *Isaac Allerton* (note 27, No. 5) "of London," 4/14 Nov., 1611, married, in Leyden, Mary Norris of Newbury; 7/17 Feb., 16 14/15, was admitted to citizenſhip in Leyden; 16/26 Nov., 1615, guaranteed Digory Prieſt on his admiſſion to the ſame privilege; 16/26 May, 1618, was witneſs at the firſt marriage of Edward Winſlow, to Elizabeth Barker; 5/15 Oct., 1619, was witneſs at the marriage of Roger Wilkin to Eliz. Barrow? was one of the four ſigners of the letter from Leyden to Carver and Cuſhman, 1/10 June, 1620; was at one time the richeſt man of the colony; was Aſſiſtant, 1621, and ſole officer for three years under the government: his wife dying ſoon after landing, he married Fear Brewſter, daughter of Elder William; ſhe dying, 1633, he married again, Joanna ——? He paſſed his later years at New Haven, and died there, 1659, inſolvent. —[Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, i. 38; *Leyden Mſs. Rec.*]

325 *Apios tuberoſa?*—[*Coll. Amer. Antiq. Soc.*, iv. 180.]

326 *Narraganſetts*, as they were commonly ſtyled.

whom hee thinks wee may be ſome ſtrength to him, for our peeces are terrible vnto them; this morning, they ſtayed till ten or eleuen of the Clocke, and our Governour bid them ſend the Kings kettle, and filled it full of peaſe, which pleaſed them well, and ſo they went their way.

Fryday was a very faire day, *Samoſet* and *Squanto* ſtill remained with vs, *Squanto* went at noone to fiſh for Eeles,[327] at night he came home with as many as he could well lift in one hand, which our people were glad of, they were fat & ſweet, he trod them out with his feete, and ſo caught them with his hands without any other Inſtrument,

This day we proceeded on with our common buſineſſe, from which we had been ſo often hindred by the Salvages comming, and concluded both of Military orders, and of ſome Lawes and Orders as wee thought behoofefull for our preſent eſtate, and condition, and did likewiſe chooſe our Governour for this yeare, which was Maſter *Iohn Carver*[328] a man well approoved amongſt vs. [40]

[327] Doubtleſs at Eel River, of which Thacher says "it is appropriately called Eel River, from the abundance of Eels which it yields to the ſupport of the induſtrious poor. Perhaps it will not be extravagant to ſay that about 150 barrels are annually taken there."—[*Hiſt. Plym.*, 322.]

[328] See notes 27 (No. 1), 28, and 151; also Prince [*N. E. Chron.*, pt. ii. 103.]

A IOVRNEY TO *PACKANOKIK*, The Habitation of the Great King *MASSASOYT*.

As alſo our Meſſage, the *Anſwere and intertainement wee had of* HIM.

IT ſeemed good to the Company for many conſiderations to ſend ſome amongſt them to *Maſſaſoyt*, the greatest Commander amongſt the Savages, bordering about vs; partly to know where to find them, if occaſion ſerved, as alſo to ſee their ſtrength, diſcover the Country, prevent abuſes in their diſorderly comming vnto vs, make ſatisfaction for ſome conceived jniuries to be done on our parts, and to continue the league of Peace and Friendſhip betweene them and vs. For theſe, and the like ends, it pleaſed the Governour to make choice of *Steven Hopkins*, & *Edward Winſloe*[329] to goe vnto him, and having a fit opportunitie, by reaſon of a Savage, called *Tiſquantum*[330] (that could ſpeake Engliſh) comming

[329] Edward Winſlow was almoſt neceſſarily the author of this part of the *Relation*, as it was written by a participant in the journey. There are ſeveral verbal correſpondences with his avowed works, which indorſe the ſuppoſition.

[330] See note 315.

vnto vs; with all expedition provided a Horſe-mans coat, of red Cotton, and laced with a ſlight lace for a preſent, that both they and their meſſage might be the more acceptable amongſt them. The Meſſage was as followeth; That foraſmuch as his ſubiects came often and without feare, vpon all occaſions amongſt vs, ſo wee were now come vnto him, and in witneſſe of the loue and good will the Engliſh beare vnto him, the Governour hath ſent him a coat, deſiring that the Peace and Amitie that was [41] betweene them and vs might be continued, not that we feared them, but becauſe we intended not to iniure any, deſiring to liue peaceably: and as with all men, ſo eſpecially with them our neereſt neighbours. But whereas his people came very often, and very many together vnto vs, bringing for the moſt part their wiues and children with them, they were well come; yet we being but ſtrangers as yet at *Patuxet*,[331] *alias New Plimmoth*, and not knowing how our Corne might proſper, we could no longer giue them ſuch entertainment as we had done, and as we deſired ſtill to doe: yet if he would be pleaſed to come himſelfe, or any ſpeciall friend of his deſired to ſee vs, comming from him they ſhould be wellcome; and to the end wee might know them from others, our Governour had ſent him a copper Chayne, deſiring if any Meſſenger ſhould come from him to vs, we might know him by bringing it with him, and hearken and giue

[331] See note 296.

credite to his Meſſage accordingly. Alſo requeſting him that ſuch as haue skins,[332] ſhould bring them to vs, and that he would hinder the multitude from oppreſſing vs with them. And whereas at our firſt arrivall at *Paomet*[333] (called by vs *Cape Cod*) we found there Corne buried in the ground, and finding no inhabitants but ſome graues of dead new buryed, tooke the Corne, reſolving if ever we could heare of any that had right thereunto, to make ſatisfaction to the full for it, yet ſince we vnderſtand the owners thereof were fled for feare of vs, our deſire was either to pay them with the like quantitie of corne, Engliſh meale, or any other Commodities we had to pleaſure them withall; requeſting him that ſome one of his men might ſignifie ſo much vnto them, and wee would content him for his paines. And laſt of all, our Gouernour requeſted one favour of him, which was, that he would exchange ſome of their Corne[334] for ſeede with us, that we might make tryall which beſt agreed with the ſoyle where we liue.

With theſe preſents and meſſage we ſet forward the tenth Iune,[335] about 9. a clocke in the Morning, our guide

332 Beaver and other ſkins for the furriers. Smith ſays that, in 1614, ranging the coaſt in a ſmall boat, he "got, for trifles, eleven hundred Bever ſkins, beſide Otters and Martins."—[*Advertiſements*, 12.]

333 Pamet. See note 74.

334 Probably what is now called Rhode-Iſland corn, which is a different ſpecies from that uſually raiſed in Maſſachuſetts, yielding a more delicate and whiter meal.

335 $\frac{10}{20}$ June, 1621, was the Sabbath, ſo that there muſt be ſome miſtake in this date, as the Pilgrims would never have commenced ſuch a journey on that day. Bradford [*Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 102] ſays this expedition ſtart-

reſolving that night to reſt at *Namaſchet*,[336] a Towne vnder *Maſſaſoyt*, and conceived by vs to bee very neere, becauſe the [42] Inhabitants flocked ſo thicke vpon every ſlight occaſion amongſt vs: but wee found it to bee ſome fifteene Engliſh myles. On the way we found ſome ten or twelue men women and children, which had peſtered vs, till wee were wearie of them, perceiving that (as the manner of them all is) where victuall is eaſilieſt to be got, there they liue, eſpecially in the Summer: by reaſon whereof our Bay affording many Lobſters, they reſort every ſpring tide thither: & now returned with vs to *Namaſchet*. Thither we came about 3. a clock after noone, the Inhabitants entertaining vs with ioy, in the beſt manner they could, giving vs a kinde of bread called by them *Maizium*,[337] and the ſpawne of Shads, which then they got in abundance, in ſo much as they gaue vs ſpoones to eate them, with theſe they boyled muſtie Acorns,[338] but of the Shads we eate heartily. After this

ed on $\frac{2}{12}$ July (*Monday*, an inherently probable day). Prince [*N. E. Chron.*, pt. ii. 105] adopts Bradford's date, as alſo does Morton [*N. E. Memorial*, 31], which is doubtleſs the true one; the date in the text being probably due to the blundering compoſitors, and careless proof-reading, which disfigure the volume.

336 *Nemaſket* (*Namaſſeket*, *Namaſſaket*, *Nemaſcut*, &c.) is from *Namas*, "fiſh;" ſo that *Namas-ohke-ut* is "at-the-fiſh-place." The ſpot ſo deſignated here is in what is now Middleborough, on the Nemaſket River, about thirty rods above the bridge paſſed in going from the Green to the Four Corners, on the Middleborough and Plymouth road; being the rapids near the Lower Factory, which is now called the Star Mills.

337 Bread rudely made from their maize, or Indian corn.

338 See note 177.

they deſired one of our men to ſhoote at a Crow, complaining what damage they ſuſtained in their Corne by them, who ſhooting ſome foureſcore off[339] and killing, they much admired it, as other ſhots on other occaſions. After this *Tiſquantum* told vs we ſhould hardly in one day reach *Pakanokick*,[340] moving vs to goe ſome 8. myles further, where we ſhould finde more ſtore and better victuals then there: Being willing to haſten our Iourney we went, and came thither at Sunne ſetting, where we found many of the *Namaſcheucks* (they ſo calling the men of *Namaſchet*) fiſhing vppon a Ware which they had made on a River which belonged to them, where they caught abundance of Baſſe.[341] Theſe welcommed vs alſo, gaue vs of their fiſh, and we them of our victuals, not doubting but we ſhould haue enough where ere we came. There we lodged in the open fieldes: for houſes they had

339 Probably *paces*, poſſibly *feet*.

340 *Pokanoket* (*Pakonokick*, *Pawkunnawkutt*, &c., &c.), unleſs greatly corrupted, can be derived only from *pohkenai*, or *pogkeni*, "dark," and *ohke*, "land," or "place." This is directly oppoſed, in its literal or primary ſignification, to *wampan-ohke*. (Eliot has, for "brightneſs, but . . . in darkneſs" [*Isa.* lix. 9] *wompag, gut . . . pohkenáhtu*.) The *origin* of the name is open to conjecture. *Wampan*, ſignifying, primarily, "white" or "bright," was uſed figuratively for the dawn, and the region of light, *the eaſt*. *Pohkenai*, "dark," may have been, and very probably was, ſimilarly uſed for the place of ſunſet, "the weſt;" though it is not found in that ſenſe in Eliot or in Roger Williams. If ſo, *Pokanoket* would be "the weſt country" to the Plymouth tribes, as the "eaſt country" of the Narraganſetts. Or the name may have had ſome *local* origin, — from the color of the ſoil, the obſcurity of a foreſt, or other (now extinct) ſuggeſtion of darkness.

341 Probably at the Old Indian Wear, ſo called, near *Titicut*, in the N. W. part of Middleborough; two or three miles S. W. of the junction of the Nemaſket with the Taunton river.

none, though they ſpent the moſt of the Summer there. The head of this River is reported to bee not farre from the place of our abode,[342] vpon it are, and haue beene many Townes, it being a good length. The ground is very good on both ſides, it being for the moſt part cleered: Thouſands of men have lived there, which dyed in a great plague not long ſince: and pitty it was and is to ſee, ſo many goodly fieldes, & ſo well ſeated, with- [43] out men to dreſſe and manure the ſame. Vppon this River dwelleth *Maſſaſoyt:* It commeth into the Sea at the *Narrohiganſet* Bay,[343] where the French men ſo much vſe. A ſhipp may goe many myles vp it, as the Salvages report, and a ſhallop to the head of it: but ſo farre as wee ſaw, wee are ſure a Shallop may.

But to returne to our Iourney: The next morning[344] wee brake our faſt, tooke our leaue and departed, being then accompanied with ſome ſixe Salvages, having gone about ſixe myles by the River ſide, at a knowne ſhole place,[345] it beeing low water, they ſpake to vs to put off our breeches, for wee muſt wade thorow. Heere let me not forget the vallour and courrage of ſome of the Salvages, on the oppoſite ſide of the river, for there were remaining aliue only 2. men, both aged, eſpecially the

342 The *Winetuxet* (*Winne-tuk-eſ-et*, "on-the-ſmall-pretty-river") branch of Titicut River riſes in Plympton and Carver, within 6 miles of Plymouth.

343 Narraganſet Bay.

344 *Tueſday*, $\frac{3}{13}$ July, 1621.

345 There ſeems to be no doubt that this croſſing-place was at what is now known as *Squabetty*, 3½ m. E. by S. of Taunton Green.

one being aboue threeſcoure; Theſe two eſpying a company of men entring the River, ran very ſwiftly & low in the graſſe to meete vs at the banck, where with ſhrill voyces and great courage ſtanding charged vppon vs with their bowes, they demaunded what we were, ſuppoſing vs to be enemies, and thinking to take advantage on vs in the water: but ſeeing we were friends, they welcommed vs with ſuch foode as they had, and we beſtowed a ſmall bracelet of Beades on them. Thus farre wee are ſure the Tide ebs and flowes.

Having here againe refreſhed our ſelves, we proceeded in our Iourney, the weather being very hote for travell, yet the Country ſo well watered that a man could ſcarce be drie, but he ſhould haue a ſpring at hand to coole his thirſt, beſide ſmal Rivers in abundance: but the Salvages will not willingly drinke, but at a ſpring head. When wee came to any ſmall Brooke where no bridge was, two of them deſired to carry vs through of their owne accords, alſo fearing wee were or would be weary, offered to carry our peeces, alſo if we would lay off any of our clothes, we ſhould haue them carried: and as the one of them had found more ſpeciall kindneſſe from one of the Meſſengers, and the other Salvage from the other ſo they ſhewed their thankefulneſſe accordingly in affor- [44] ding vs all helpe, and furtherance in the Iourney.

As we paſſed along, we obſerved that there were few places by the River, but had beene inhabited, by reaſon

whereof, much ground was cleare, ſaue of weedes which grewe higher then our heads. There is much good Timber both Oake, Waltnut-tree, Firre, Beech, and exceeding great Cheſſnut-trees. The Country in reſpect of the lying of it, is both Champanie and hilly, like many places in England. In ſome places its very rockie both aboue ground and in it: And though the Countrey bee wilde and over-growne with woods, yet the trees ſtand not thicke, but a man may well ride a horſe amongſt them.[346]

Paſſing on at length, one of the Company an *Indian* eſpied a man, and told the reſt of it, we asked them if they feared any, they told vs that if they were *Narrohigganſet*, men they would not truſt them,[347] whereat, we called for our peeces and bid them not to feare; for though they were twenty, we two alone would not care for them: but they hayling him, hee prooved a friend, and had onely two women with him: their baskets were empty, but they fetched water in their bottels, ſo that we dranke with them and departed. After we met another man with other two women, which had beene at Randevow by the ſalt water, and their baskets were full of roſted Crab fiſhes, and other dryed ſhell fiſh, of which they gaue vs, and wee eate and dranke with them: and gaue each of the women a ſtring of Beades, and departed.

346 Owing to the yearly burning of the bruſh and undergrowth by the Indians. See note 180.

347 It has already been ſtated (ſee p. 96) that Maſſaſoit and the Narraganſetts were at war.

After wee came to a Towne of *Maſſaſoyts*,[348] where we eat Oyſters and other fiſh. From thence we went to *Packanokick*,[349] but *Maſſaſoyt* was not at home, there we ſtayed, he being ſent for: when newes was brought of his comming, our guide *Tiſquantum* requeſted that at our meeting, wee would diſcharge our peeces, but one of vs going about to charge his peece, the women and children through feare to ſee him take vpp his peece, ran away, and could not bee pacified, till hee layd it downe againe, who afterward were better informed by our Interpreter.

Maſſaſoyt being come, wee diſcharged our Peeces, and [45] ſaluted him, who after their manner kindly well commed vs, and tooke vs into his houſe, and ſet vs downe by him, where having delivered our foreſayd Meſſage, and Preſents, and having put the Coat on his backe, and the Chayne about his necke, he was not a little proud to behold himſelfe, and his men alſo to ſee their King ſo brauely attyred.

For anſwere to our Meſſage, he told vs we were welcome, and he would gladly continue that Peace and Friendſhip which was betweene him & vs: and for his

348 This was probably at *Matapuyst* (or *Mattapoiſet*), now known as Gardner's Neck, in Swanſey.—[See Winſlow's *Good Newes from New England*, in Young's *Chron. of Plym.*, 317.]

349 Gen. G. M. Feſſenden (in his *Hiſtory of Warren, R. I.*) has conclusively ſhown that while *Packanokik* was a general name for the *Wampanoag* territory, in the neighborhood of what are now Warren, Briſtol, &c., R. I., the Indian village here intended was *Sowams*, built around the ſpring called Maſſaſoit's Spring, near Baker's Wharf, in Warren.—[Pp. 27–30.]

men they ſhould no more peſter vs as they had done: Alſo, that he would ſend to *Paomet*, and would helpe vs with Corne for ſeed, according to our requeſt.

This being done, his men gathered neere to him, to whom he turned himſelfe, and made a great Speech; they ſometime interpoſing, and as it were, confirming and applauding him in that he ſayd. The meaning whereof was (as farre as we could learne) thus; Was not he *Maſſaſoyt* Commander of the Countrey about them? Was not ſuch a Towne his and the people of it? and ſhould they not bring their skins vnto vs? To which they anſwered, they were his & would be at peace with vs, and bring their skins to vs. After this manner, he named at leaſt thirtie places, and their anſwere was as aforeſayd to every one: ſo that as it was delightfull, it was tedious vnto vs.

This being ended, he lighted Tobacco for vs, and fell to diſcourſing of *England*, & of the Kings Maieſtie, marvayling that he would liue without a wife.[350] Alſo he talked of the French-men, bidding vs not to ſuffer them to come to *Narrohiganſet*, for it was King IAMES his Countrey, and he alſo was King IAMES his man. Late it grew, but victualls he offered none; for indeed he had not any, being he came ſo newly home. So we deſired to goe to reſt: he layd vs on the bed with himſelfe and his wife, they at the one end and we at the other, it being

350 James I. of England had become a widower more than a year before.

onely plancks layd a foot from the ground, and a thin Mat vpon them.[351] Two more of his chiefe men for want of roome preſſed by and vpon vs; ſo that we were worſe weary of our lodging then of our iourney. [46]

The next day being Thurſday,[352] many of their Sachmis, or petty Governours came to ſee vs, and many of their men alſo. There they went to their manner of Games for skins and kniues.[353] There we challenged them to ſhoote with them for skins: but they durſt not: onely they deſired to ſee one of vs ſhoote at a marke, who ſhooting with Haile-ſhot, they wondred to ſee the marke ſo full of holes. About one a clocke, *Maſſaſoyt* brought two fiſhes that he had ſhot, they were like Breame but three times ſo bigge, and better meate.[354] Theſe being boyled there were at leſt fortie looked for ſhare in them, the moſt eate of them: This meale onely we had in two

[351] "Their lodging is made in three places of the houſe about the fire they lye upon plankes commonly about a foote or 18. inches above the ground raiſed upon railes that are borne up upon forks they lay mats under them, and Coates of Deares ſkinnes otters beavers Racownes and of Beares hides, all which they have dreſſed and converted into good lether with the haire on for their coverings and in this manner they lye as warme as they deſire."—[*New Engliſh Canaan*, Force, II. v. 20.] See alſo Gookin and Roger Williams.—[1 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.* i. 150; *R.-I. Hiſt. Coll.*, i. 40.]

[352] *Thurſday*, $\frac{5}{15}$ July, 1621.

[353] "A game like unto the Engliſh Cards, yet, inſtead of Cards, they play with ſtrong Ruſhes. Secondly, they have a kinde of Dice which are Plumb ſtones painted, which they caſt in a Tray with a mighty noyſe and ſweating."—[Roger Williams, *Key*, &c., *R.-I. Hiſt. Coll.*, i. 145.]

[354] "Probably Baſs, as thoſe fiſh ſwim near the ſurface."—[Feſſenden's *Hiſt. Warren, R. I.*, 16.] Roger Williams ſays, "They kill Baſſe (at the fall of the water) with their arrows, or ſharp ſticks, eſpecially if headed with iron, &c."—[*R.-I. Hiſt. Coll.*, i. 102.]

nights and a day, and had not one of vs bought[355] a Partridge, we had taken our Iourney faſting: Very importunate he was to haue vs ſtay with them longer: But wee deſired to keepe the Sabboth at home: and feared we ſhould either be light-headed for want of ſleepe, for what with bad lodging, the Savages barbarous ſinging, (for they vſe to ſing themſelues aſleepe) lice and fleas within doores, and Muskeetoes without, wee could hardly ſleepe all the time of our being there; we much fearing, that if wee ſhould ſtay any longer, we ſhould not be able to recover home for want of ſtrength. So that on the Fryday morning before Sun-riſing,[356] we tooke our leaue and departed, *Maſſaſoyt* being both grieved and aſhamed, that he could no better entertaine vs: and retaining *Tiſquantum* to ſend from place to place to procure trucke for vs: and appointing another, called *Tokamahamon* in his place, whom we had found faithfull before and after vpon all occaſions.

At this towne of *Maſſaſoyts*, where we before eate,[357] wee were againe refreſhed with a little fiſh; and bought about a handfull of Meale of their parched Corne, which was very precious at that time of the yeere, and a ſmall ſtring of dryed ſhell-fiſh, as big as Oyſters.[358] The latter we gaue to the ſixe Savages that accompanied vs, keeping the Meale for our ſelues, when we dranke we eate each a ſpoonefull of it with a Pipe of Tobacco, in ſtead

355 Brought?
356 *Friday*, $\frac{6}{16}$ July.
357 See note 348.
358 Clams?

of other victuals; and of this alſo we could not but giue them, ſo long as it laſted. Fiue myles [47] they led vs to a houſe out of the way in hope of victualls: but we found no body there, and ſo were but worſe able to returne home. That night we reached to the wire where we lay before,[359] but the *Namaſcheucks* were returned: ſo that we had no hope of any thing there. One of the Savages had ſhot a Shad in the water, and a ſmall Squirrill as big as a Rat, called a *Neuxis*,[360] the one halfe of either he gaue vs, and after went to the wire to fiſh. From hence we wrote to *Plimouth*, and ſent *Tokamahamon* before to *Namasket*, willing him from thence to ſend another, that he might meet vs with food at *Namasket*. Two men now onely remained with vs, and it pleaſed God to giue them good ſtore of fiſh, ſo that we were well refreſhed. After ſupper we went to reſt, and they to fiſhing againe: more they gat and fell to eating a-freſh, and retayned ſufficient readie roſt for all our break-faſts. About two a Clocke in the morning,[361] aroſe a great ſtorme of wind, raine, lightning, and thunder, in ſuch violent manner, that we could not keepe in our fire; and had the Savages not roſted fiſh when we were aſleepe, we had ſet forward faſting: for the raine ſtill continued with

359 See note 341.

360 *Neuxis* ſeems to be mentioned as the Indian name of the animal referred to. *Anéquſanéquuſſuck* is the name which Roger Williams attaches to the "little coloured squirril."—[*R.-I. Hiſt. Coll.*, i. 95.] Probably the *Sciurus leucotis*, or *Sciurus ſtriatus*, is intended.

361 *Saturday*, $\frac{7}{17}$ July.

great violence, even the whole day thorow, till wee came within two myles of home.

Being wett and weary, at length we came to *Namaſchet*, there we refreſhed our ſelues, giuing gifts to all ſuch as had ſhewed vs any kindneſſe. Amongſt others one of the ſixe that came with vs from *Packanokik* having before this on the way vnkindly forſaken vs, marvayled we gaue him nothing, and told vs what he had done for vs; we alſo told him of ſome diſcurteſies he offered vs, whereby he deſerved nothing, yet we gaue him a ſmall trifle: wherevpon he offered vs Tobacco: but the houſe being full of people, we told them hee ſtole ſome by the way, and if it were of that we would not take it: For we would not receiue that which was ſtolne vpon any termes; if we did, our God would be angry with vs, and deſtroy vs. This abaſhed him, and gaue the reſt great content: but at our departure he would needs carry him on his backe thorow a River, whom he had formerly in ſome [48] ſort abuſed. Faine they would haue had vs to lodge there all night: and wondered we would ſet forth againe in ſuch Weather: but God be prayſed, wee came ſafe home that night, though wett, weary, and ſurbated.[362] [49]

[362] "*Surbate* is when the Sole of a Horſe's foot is worn, bruiſed, or ſpoiled, by travelling without Shoes &c."—[*Bailey.*] Webſter derives it from *ſolbattre*, from *ſole* (Lat. *ſolea*) "a ſole," and *battre*, "to beat," hence "to batter the feet by travel;" hence "to haraſs," "to fatigue."

A VOYAGE MADE BY TEN of our Men to the Kingdome of NAVSET,[363] to ſeeke a Boy[364] that had *loſt himſelfe in the* WOODS; With ſuch Accidents as befell vs in that VOYAGE.

THE 11th of *June*[365] we ſet forth, the weather being very faire: but ere we had bin long at Sea, there aroſe a ſtorme of wind and raine, with much lightning and thunder, in ſo much that a ſpout aroſe not far from vs: but God be prayſed, it dured not long, and we put in that night for Harbour at a place, called *Cummaquid*,[366]

363 The Indian name of Eaſtham.

364 Prince [*N. E. Chron.*, pt. ii. 107] ſays the boy was John Billington, — the elder brother of the ſcapegrace who had nearly blown up the Mayflower in Cape-Cod harbor, $\frac{5}{15}$ Dec. previous. [See page 43.]

365 *Monday*, $\frac{11}{21}$ June, 1621. "But this date being inconſiſtent with ſeveral hints in the foregoing and following ſtories, I keep to Gov. Bradford's original Ms., and place it between the end of July and the 13th of Aug." — [Prince, *N. E. Chron.*, pt. ii. 107.] Bradford ſays, "Aboute ye *later end of this month* [July], one John Billington loſt him ſelfe in ye woods, & wandered up & downe ſome 5 days, living on beries & what he could find. At length he light on an Indean plantation 20. mils ſouth of this place, called *Manamet*, they conveid him furder of, to *Nawſett*, among thoſe peopl that had before ſet upon ye Engliſh, &c." — [*Hiſt. Plym. Plant.* 102.]

366 *Cummaquid (Chumaquid)* was the name of Barnſtable Harbor. — [Freeman's *Cape Cod*, ii. 249.]

where wee had ſome hope to finde the Boy. Two Savages were in the Boat with vs, the one was *Tiſquantum* our Interpreter, the other *Tokamahamon*,[367] a ſpeciall friend. It being night before we came in, we Anchored in the middeſt of the Bay, where we were drie at a low water. In the morning we eſpied Savages ſeeking Lobſters, and ſent our two Interpreters to ſpeake with them, the channell being betweene them; where they told them what we were, and for what we were come, willing them not at all to feare vs, for we would not hurt them. Their anſwere was, that the Boy was well, but he was at *Nauſet*; yet ſince wee were there they deſired vs to come aſhore & eate with them: which as ſoone as our Boat floated we did: and went ſixe aſhore, having foure pledges for them in the Boate. They brought vs to their Sachim or Gouernour, whom they call [50] *Iyanough*,[368] a man not exceeding twentie-ſix yeeres of age, but very perſonable, gentle, courteous, and fayre conditioned, indeed not like a Savage, ſaue for his attyre; his entertainement was anſwerable to his parts, and his cheare plentifull and various.

One thing was very grieuous vnto vs at this place;

[367] See page 109.

[368] *Iyanough's* fate was a ſad one. In 1623, a conſpiracy was formed among the Indians to put the Engliſh to death, which was revealed by *Maſſaſoyt*, and which was fruſtrated by the ſudden and ſharp meaſures of Standiſh and his men. *Iyanough* was concerned in it; and, being terrified by the fate of *Wittuwamet* and *Pekſuot*, he fled into the ſwamps, where he died, either of ſtarvation or of diſeaſe.—[Drake's *Book of Indians*, 78; Pratt's *Hiſtory of Eaſtham*, 8.]

There was an old woman, whom we iudged to be no leſſe then an hundred yeeres old, which came to ſee vs becauſe ſhee neuer ſaw Engliſh, yet could not behold vs without breaking forth into great paſſion, weeping and crying exceſſiuely. We demaunding the reaſon of it, they told vs, ſhe had three ſons, who when maſter *Hunt* was in theſe parts went aboord his Ship to trade with him, and he carried them Captiues into Spaine[369] (for *Tisquantum* at that time was carried away alſo) by which meanes ſhee was depriued of the comfort of her children in her old age. We told them we were ſorry that any Engliſh man ſhould giue them that offence, that *Hunt* was a bad man, and that all the Engliſh that heard of it condemned him for the ſame: but for vs we would not offer them any ſuch iniury, though it would gaine vs all the skins in the Countrey. So we gaue her ſome ſmall trifles, which ſomewhat appeaſed her.

After dinner we tooke Boat for *Nauſet*, *Iyanough* and two of his men accompanying vs. Ere we came to *Nauſet*, the day and tyde were almoſt ſpent, in ſo much as we could not goe in with our Shallop: but the Sachim or Governour of *Commaquid* went a ſhore and his men with him, we alſo ſent *Tiſquantum* to tell *Aſpinet* the Sachim of *Nauſet*[370] wherefore we came. The Sauages here came very thicke amongſt vs, and were earneſt with vs to

369 See note 305.

370 The meagre record indicates that *Aſpinet* periſhed miſerably, as *Iyanough* did.

bring in our Boate. But we neither well could, nor yet deſired to doe it, becauſe we had leſt cauſe to truſt them, being they onely had formerly made an Aſſault vpon vs in the ſame place, in time of our Winter Diſcouery for Habitation. And indeed it was no maruayle they did ſo, for howſoeuer through ſnow or otherwiſe wee ſaw no houſes, yet wee were in the middeſt of them. [51]

When our boat was a ground they came very thicke, but wee ſtood therein vpon our guard, not ſuffering any to enter except two: the one being of *Maramoick*,[371] and one of thoſe, whoſe Corne we had formerly found, we promiſed him reſtitution, & deſired him either to come to *Patuxet* for ſatisfaction, or elſe we would bring them ſo much corne againe, hee promiſed to come, wee vſed him very kindely for the preſent. Some few skins we gate there but not many.

After Sun-ſet, *Aſpinet* came with a great traine, & brought the boy with him, one bearing him through the water: hee had not leſſe then an hundred with him, the halfe whereof came to the Shallop ſide vnarmed with him, the other ſtood aloofe with their bow and arrowes. There he delivered vs the boy, behung with beades, and made peace with vs, wee beſtowing a knife on him, and likewiſe on another that firſt entertained the Boy and brought him thither. So they departed from vs.

[371] Probably *Monomoyick* (*Manamoyik*, *Monamoy*, &c.), the original Indian appellation of Chatham, is intended.—[Freeman's *Hiſt. Cape Cod.* ii. 579. See alſo Gookin's *Hiſt. Coll.* in 1 *Maſſ. Hiſt. Coll.* 1: 197.]

Here we vnderſtood, that the *Narrohiganſets* had ſpoyled ſome of *Maſſaſoyts* men, and taken him. This ſtrucke ſome feare in vs, becauſe the Colony was ſo weakely guarded, the ſtrength thereof being abroad:[372] But we ſet foorth with reſolution to make the beſt haſt home wee could; yet the winde being contrary, having ſcarce any freſh water leaſt, and at leaſt, 16. leagues home,[373] we put in againe for the ſhore. There we met againe with *Iyanough* the *Sachim* of *Cũmaquid*, and the moſt of his Towne, both men women & children with him. Hee being ſtill willing to gratifie vs, tooke a runlet[374] and led our men in the darke a great way for water, but could finde none good: yet brought ſuch as there was on his necke with them. In the meane time the women ioyned hand in hand, ſinging and dancing before the Shallop, the men alſo ſhewing all the kindnes they could, *Iyanough* himſelfe taking a bracelet from about his necke, and hanging it vpon one of vs.

Againe we ſet out but to ſmall purpoſe: for wee gat but little homeward; Our water alſo was very brackiſh, and not to be drunke. [52]

The next morning, *Iyanough* eſpied vs againe and ran

372 Dr. Young thinks that, in the abſence of this party, but ſeven able-bodied men were left at Plymouth at this time.

373 This eſtimate of diſtance ſeems now a little large, though its exactneſs would depend much upon the cloſeneſs with which they hugged the ſhore in all its irregularities.

374 "*Rundlet*, a cloſe Caſk for Liquors, containing from 3 to 20 Gallons."—[*Bailey*.]

after vs; we being reſolved to goe to *Cummaquid* againe to water, tooke him into the Shallop, whoſe entertainement was not inferiour vnto the former.

The ſoyle at *Nauſet* and here is alike, even and ſandy, not ſo good for corne as where wee are; Shipps may ſafely ride in eyther harbour. In the Summer, they abound with fiſh. Being now watered, we put forth againe, and by Gods providence, came ſafely home that night. [53.]

(***)

A IOVRNEY TO THE Kingdome of *NAMASCHET*[375] *in defence of the Great King* MASSASOYT *againſt the Narrohigganſets*, and to revenge the ſuppoſed Death of our Interpreter *Tiſquantum.*

AT our returne from *Nauſet*, we found it true, that *Maſſaſoyt* was put from his Countrey by the *Narrohigganſets*.[376] Word alſo was brought vnto vs, that one *Coubatant* a petty Sachim or Governour vnder *Maſſaſoyt* (whom they euer feared to be too converſant with the *Narrohigganſets*) was at *Namaſchet*, who ſought to draw the hearts of *Maſſa-*

375 See note 336.

376 Bradford ſays, "He [*Hobamack*] & Squanto being gone upon buſſines amonge ye Indeans, at their returne (whether it was out of envie to them or malice to the Engliſh) ther was a Sachem called Corbitant, alyed to Maſſaſſoyte, but never any good friend to ye Engliſh to this day, mett with them at an Indean towne called Namaſſakett 14. miles to ye weſt of this place, and begane to quarell wth them, and offered to ſtabe Hobamack; but being a luſty man, he cleared him ſelfe of him, and camé ruñing away all ſweating and tould ye Govr what had befalne him, and he feared they had killed Squanto, for they threat-

ſoyts ſubjects from him, ſpeaking alſo diſdainfully of vs, ſtorming at the Peace between *Nauſet*, *Cummaquid*, and vs, and at *Tiſquantum* the worker of it; alſo at *Tokamahamon*, and one *Hobbamock*[377] (two Indians or Lemes,[378] one of which he would trecherouſly haue murdered a

ened them both, and for no other cauſe but becauſe they were freinds to ye Engliſh, and ſerviſable unto them. Upon this ye Gover taking counſell, it was conceivd not fitt to be borne; for if they ſhould ſuffer their freinds & meſſengers thus to be wronged, they ſhould have none would cleave unto them, or give them any inteligence, or doe them ſerviſs afterwards; but nexte they would fall upon them ſelues. Whereupon it was reſolved to ſend ye Captaine & 14. men well armed, and to goe & fall upon them in ye night; and if they found that Squanto was kild, to cut off Corbitants head, but not to hurt any but thoſe that had a hand in it. Hobamack was aſked if he would goe & be their guid, & bring them ther before day. He ſaid he would & bring them to ye houſe wher the man lay, and ſhow them which was he. So they ſet forth ye 14. *of Auguſt*, and beſet ye houſe round; the Captin giving charg to let none paſs out, entred ye houſe to ſearch for him. But he was goone away that day, ſo they miſt him; but underſtood yt Squanto was alive, & that he had only threatened to kill him, & made an offer to ſtabe him, but did not. So they witheld and did no more hurte & ye people came trembling, & brought them the beſt proviſſions they had, after they were acquainted by Hobamack what was only intended. Ther was 3. ſore wounded which broak out of ye houſe, and aſaid to paſs through ye garde. Theſe they brought home with them, & they had their wounds dreſt & cured, and ſente home. After this they had many gratulations from diverce sachims, and much firmer peece; yea, thoſe of ye Iles of Capawack ſent to make frendſhip; and this Corbitant him ſelfe uſed ye mediation of Maſſaſſoyte to make his peace, but was ſhie to come neare them a longe while after." — [*Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 103.]

377 *Hobomok* was a war-captain among the *Wamponoags*, much beloved of *Maſſaſoit*, and influential in preſerving peace. He received a lot in the diviſion of lands in Plymouth, on which he reſided, and where he died (as a profeſſed Chriſtian) before 1642. — [Drake's *Book of Indians*, 104.]

378 This is the moſt puzzling paſſage in the volume. Dr. Young ſuppoſed it ſhould read "our allies." Mr. Trumbull ſays, "'Or Lemes' has no *Indian* ſenſe that I can diſcover. Young's reading, 'our allies,' has

little before, being a ſpeciall and truſty man of *Maſſaſoyts*) *Tokamahamon* went to him, but the other two would not; yet put their liues in their hands, priuately went to ſee if they could heare of their King, and lodging at *Namaſchet* were diſcouered to *Coubatant*,[379] who ſet a guard to beſet the houſe and tooke *Tiſquantum* (for he had ſayd, if he were dead, the Engliſh had loſt their tongue) *Hobbamock* ſeeing that *Tiſquantum* was taken and *Coubatant* held a knife at his breaſt, being a ſtrong and ſtout man, brake from them and came to *New-Plimmouth*, full of feare and ſorrow for *Tiſquantum*, whom he thought to be ſlaine. [54]

Vpon this Newes the Company aſſembled together, and reſolued on the morrow to ſend ten men armed to *Namaſchet* and *Hobbamock*, for their guide, to reuenge the ſuppoſed death of *Tiſquantum* on *Coubatant* our bitter Enemy, and to retaine *Nepeof*, another Sachim or Gouernour, who was of this confederacy, till we heard, what was become of our friend *Maſſaſoyt*.

On the morrow[380] we ſet out ten men Armed, who tooke their iourney as aforeſayd, but the day proved very wett. When wee ſuppoſed we were within three or foure

never ſatisfied me exactly; yet I can ſuggeſt nothing better, and am diſpoſed to let it go at that." In which I concur. — [*Ms. letter.*]

379 *Coubatant (Corbitant, Caunbatant)* ſeems to have had his headquarters near Gardner's Neck, in Swanſey. He ſigned a treaty of peace with the Plymouth men, with other ſachems, $\frac{13}{23}$ Sept., 1621. — [Drake's *Book of Indians*, 94.]

380 *Tueſday*, $\frac{14}{24}$ August, 1621.

myles of *Namaſchet*,[381] we went out of the way and ſtayed there till night, becauſe we would not be diſcouered. There we conſulted what to doe, and thinking beſt to beſet the houſe at mid-night, each was appointed his taske by the Captaine, all men incouraging one another, to the vtmoſt of their power.

By night our guide loſt his way, which much diſcouraged our men, being we were wet, and weary of our armes: but one of our men hauing beene before at *Namaſchet* brought vs into the way againe.

Before we came to the Towne we ſat downe and ate ſuch as our Knapſacke affoorded, that being done, wee threw them aſide, and all ſuch things as might hinder vs, and ſo went on and beſet the houſe, according to our laſt reſolution. Thoſe that entred, demaunded if *Coubatant* were not there: but feare had bereft the Savages of ſpeech. We charged them not to ſtirre, for if *Coubatant* were not there, we would not meddle with them, if he were, we came principally for him, to be auenged on him for the ſuppoſed death of *Tiſquantum*, and other matters: but howſoeuer wee would not at all hurt their women, or children. Notwithſtanding ſome of them preſſed out at a priuate doore and eſcaped, but with ſome wounds: At

[381] *Corbitant* ſeems to have had a temporary ſummer reſidence at what is now known as Muttock Hill, in Middleborough, about three-quarters of a mile N. N. W. of the village of the Four Corners, — where the well-known Judge Oliver lived, whoſe houſe was burned 4 Nov., 1778. — [*Ms. letter* from W. Latham, Esq.; Waſhburn's *Judic. Hiſt. Maſſ.*, 303.]

length perceiuing our principall ends, they told vs *Coubatant* was returned with all his traine, and that *Tiſquantum* was yet liuing, and in the towne offering ſome Tobacco, other ſuch as they had to eate. In this hurley burley we diſcharged two Peeces at randome, which much [55] terrified all the Inhabitants, except *Tiſquantum* and *Tokamahamon*, who though they knew not our end in comming, yet aſſured them of our honeſty, that we would not hurt them. Thoſe boyes that were in the houſe ſeeing our care of women, often cried *Neenſquaes*,[382] that is to ſay, I am a Woman: the Women alſo hanging vpon *Hobbamock*, calling him *Towam*,[383] that is, Friend. But to be ſhort, we kept them we had, and made them make a fire that we might ſee to ſearch the houſe. In the meane time, *Hobbamock* gat on the top of the houſe, and called *Tisſquantum* and *Tokamahamon*, which came vnto vs accompanied with others, ſome armed and others naked. Thoſe that had Bowes and Arrowes we tooke them away, promiſing them againe when it was day. The houſe we tooke for our better ſafegard: but releaſed thoſe we had taken, manifeſting whom we came for and wherefore.

On the next morning we marched into the middeſt of

382 "*Neen ſquaes* does mean 'I am a girl.'"—[*Ms. note* from Hon. J. H. Trumbull.]

383 "*Towam* may mean 'friend;' but I find no better or other authority than Mourt for the word, unleſs it was the writer's way of reporting the word *netoẅp*, 'my friend,' imperfectly heard and half-forgotten."—[*Ibid.*]

the Towne, and went to the houſe of *Tiſquantum* to breakfaſt. Thither came all whoſe hearts were vpright towardes vs, but all *Coubatants* faction were fled away. There in the middeſt of them we manifeſted againe our intendment, aſſuring them, that although *Coubatant* had now eſcaped vs, yet there was no place ſhould ſecure him and his from vs if he continued his threatning vs, and prouoking others againſt vs, who had kindly entertained him, and neuer intended euill towards him till he now ſo iuſtly deſerued it. Moreover, if *Maſſaſoyt* did not returne in ſafetie from *Narrohigganſet*, or if hereafter he ſhould make any inſurrection againſt him, or offer violence to *Tiſquantum*, *Hobbamock*, or any of *Maſſaſoyts* Subiects, we would revenge it vpon him, to the ouerthrow of him and his. As for thoſe were wounded, we were ſorry for it, though themſelues procured it in not ſtaying in the houſe at our command: yet if they would returne home with vs, our Surgeon ſhould heale them.

At this offer, one man and a woman that were wounded went home with vs, *Tiſquantum* and many other knowne [56] friends accompanying vs, and offering all helpe that might be by carriage of any thing wee had to eaſe vs. So that by Gods good Providence wee ſafely returned home the morrow night after we ſet forth. [57]

(* * *)

RELATION OF OVR Voyage to the *MASSACHVSETS*,[384]

And what happened there.

IT ſeemed good to the Company in generall, that though the *Maſſachuſets* had often threatened vs (as we were informed) yet we ſhould goe amongſt them, partly to ſee the Countrey, partly to make Peace with them, and partly to procure their trucke.

For theſe ends the Governours choſe ten men, fit for the purpoſe, and ſent *Tiſquantum*, and two other Salvages to bring vs to ſpeech with the people, and interpret for vs.[385]

We ſet out about mid-night,[386] the tyde then ſeruing

[384] The *Maſſachuſetts* tribe was that inhabiting the neighborhood of Boſton bay. Joſiah Cotton ſays, in his Indian vocabulary, the word means "an hill in the form of an arrow's head." Roger Williams says, in a depoſition taken at Narraganſett, $\frac{18}{28}$ June, 1682, "I had learnt that the Maſſachuſetts was called ſo from the Blue Hills."—[3 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.*, ii. 235; *R.-I. Hiſt. Coll.*, iv. 208.]

[385] Bradford's account is as follows: "After this, ye 18. of Sepembr: they ſente out ther ſhalop to the Maſſachuſets, with 10. men, and Squanto for their guid and interpreter, to diſcover and veiw that bay, and trade with ye natives; the which they performed, and found kind entertainement. The people were much affraid of ye Tarentins, a people to ye eaſtward which uſed to come in harveſt time and take away their corne, & many times kill their perſons. They returned in ſaftie, and brought home a good quanty of beaver, and made reporte of ye place, wiſhing they had been ther ſeated; (but it ſeems ye Lord, who aſſignes to all men ye bounds of their habitations, had apoynted it for an other uſe.)"—[*Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 104.]

[386] Bradford, and Prince (probably from him), fix the date of this expedition as on *Tueſday*, $\frac{18}{28}$ September, 1621.

for vs; we ſuppoſing it to be neerer then it is, thought to be there the next morning betimes: but it proued well neere twentie Leagues from *New Plimmouth*.[387]

We came into the bottome of the Bay,[388] but being late wee anchored and lay in the Shallop, not hauing ſeene any of the people. The next morning[389] we put in for the ſhore. There we found many Lobſters that had beene gathered together by the Saluages, which we made ready vnder a cliffe.[390] The Captaine ſet two Sentinels behind the cliffe to the landward to ſecure the Shallop, and taking a guide with him, and foure of our company, went to ſeeke the Inhabitants, where they met a woman comming for her Lobſters, they told her of them, and contented her for them. She told them where the people were; *Tiſquantum* went to them, the reſt returned, hauing direction which way to bring the Shallop to them.

387 The actual diſtance, by water, from Plymouth to Boſton is not far from forty-four miles.

388 That is, run in by Point Allerton into Lighthouſe Channel.

389 They ſtarted at midnight, and do not ſeem to have arrived until late the next day, when they anchored and paſſed the night; ſo that this "next morning" was that of *Thurſday*, $\frac{20}{30}$ Sept.

390 Dr. Belknap [*Amer. Biog.*, ii. 224] ſuppoſed that in putting in for the ſhore, they went up N. W. through what is now the main ſhip-channel, and that the "cliffe" under which they landed was Copp's Hill; and Dr. Young [*Chron. of Plym.*, 225] endorſed his theory. But Mr. Drake [*Hiſt. of Boſt.*, 44], relying for corroboration upon a *Ms.* of W. T. Harris, Esq., of Cambridge, ſuggeſts the much greater probability that they ſtruck directly, a little S. of W. acroſs Quincy bay, to the nearer ſhore, and that the "cliffe" was that pile of rocks known as "the chapel" at the N. E. extremity of the peninſula of Squantum. After examination of the localities, it ſeems to me that the probabilities of the caſe greatly favor the view taken by Mr. Drake.

The Sachim, or Gouernour of this place, is called *Obbatinewat*,[391] and though he liue in the bottome of the *Maſſachuſet* bay, yet he is vnder *Maſſaſoyt*. He vſed vs very kindly; he told vs, he durſt not then remaine in any ſetled place, for feare of the *Tarentines*.[392] Alſo the *Squa Sachim*,[393] or *Maſſachuſets* Queene was an enemy to him. [58]

We told him of diuers Sachims that had acknowledged themſelues to be King IAMES his men, and if he alſo would ſubmit himſelfe, we would be his ſafegard from his enemies; which he did, and went along with vs to bring vs to the *Squa Sachim*. Againe we croſſed the Bay which is very large, and hath at leſt fiftie Ilands in it:[394]

391 The phraſeology which follows in the next paragraph, "if he alſo would ſubmit himſelfe," ſeems to forbid the ſuppoſition, which has been entertained by ſome [Prince, *N. E. Chron.*, pt. ii. 112], that this was the *Obbatinnua* who, with eight other ſachems, had acknowledged himſelf to be "a loyal ſubject of King James," at Plymouth (during the previous week), $\frac{13}{23}$ Sept., 1621.—[Morton's *N. E. Mem.*, 29.] *Obbatinewat* is ſuppoſed to have been a ſachem of the Maſſachuſetts.

392 "The *Tarratines* were the inhabitants of Penobſcot River. They were one of the three *Etchemin* tribes."—[Williamſon's *Hiſt. Me.*, i. 459.]

393 When *Nanapaſhemet* (ſoon to be mentioned), the great ſachem of the Maſſachuſetts Indians, died, his queen carried on the government as ſquaw-ſachem, marrying Webbacowet, the great medicine-man of the nation. In 1637, ſhe deeded a tract of land in *Muſketaquid* (Concord). $\frac{13}{23}$ Jan., $163\frac{6}{7}$, ſhe ſold Myſtic Pond, and a large tract of land now included in Somerville, to Jotham Gibbons of Boſton. $\frac{8}{18}$ March, 1644, ſhe ſubmitted to the whites. She died before 1662.—[Brooks's *Hiſt. Medford*, 73, 74.]

394 Shaw's *Hiſtory of Boſton* (A. D. 1817) contains a liſt of the names of forty-ſeven "iſlands and rocks in and near Boſton harbor." Snow's work (A. D. 1828) ſays the bay "is beſpangled with upwards of 100 iſlands or rocks."—[*Shaw*, 83; *Snow*, 113.]

but the certaine number is not knowne to the Inhabitants. Night it was before wee came to that ſide of the Bay[395] where this people were. On ſhore the Saluages went but found no body. That night alſo we rid at Anchor aboord the Shallop.

On the morrow[396] we went aſhore, all but two men, and marched in Armes vp in the Countrey. Hauing gone three myles, we came to a place where Corne had beene newly gathered, a houſe pulled downe, and the people gone. A myle from hence, *Nanepaſhemet* their King in his life time had liued.[397] His houſe was not like others, but a ſcaffold was largely built, with pools[398] and plancks ſome ſix foote from ground, and the houſe vpon that, being ſituated on the top of a hill.

Not farre from hence in a bottome,[399] wee came to a Fort built by their deceaſed King, the manner thus;

395 They ſeem to have croſſed from Quincy over to what is now Charleſtown.

396 *Friday*, $\frac{21 \text{ Sept.}}{1 \text{ Oct.}}$, 1621.

397 *Nanepaſhemet* is ſaid to have been at one time the moſt powerful ſachem of New England. He reſided at Lynn until "the great war of the Taretines," in 1615. He then retreated to Medford, where he built him a houſe on Rock Hill. He was killed by the *Taretines* in 1619. Roger Williams [*Key*, &c., *R.-I. Hiſt. Coll.*, i. 110] ſays that *Nanepaûſhat* was the *Wampanoag* word for "*Moone God.*" Whether we are to infer any connection between that word and the name of this chief ſeems to be doubtful.—[Brooks's *Hiſt. Medford*, 72; Newhall's *Hiſt. Lynn*, 35; Shattuck's *Hiſt. Concord*, 2.] Dr. Young is wholly miſled in his note here by his theory of their firſt landing at Copp's Hill, which compels him to ſuppoſe that croſſing the bay would carry them to Squantum, and that *Nanepaſhemet* lived on Milton Hill.

398 Poles.

399 In the vicinity of Myſtic Pond, in Medford. — [See Drake's *Hiſt. Boſt.*, 45.]

There were pools ſome thirtie or fortie foote long, ſtucke in the ground as thicke as they could be ſet one by another, and with theſe they incloſed a ring ſome forty or fifty foote ouer. A trench breaſt high was digged on each ſide; one way there was to goe into it with a bridge; in the midſt of this Pallizado ſtood the frame of an houſe, wherein being dead he lay buryed.[400]

About a myle from hence, we came to ſuch another, but ſeated on the top of an hill: here *Nanepaſhemet* was killed, none dwelling in it ſince the time of his death. At this place we ſtayed, and ſent two Saluages to looke the Inhabitants, and to informe them of our ends in comming, that they might not be fearefull of vs: Within a myle of this place they found the women of the place together, with their Corne on heapes, whither we ſuppoſed them to be fled for feare of vs, and the more, becauſe in diuers places they had newly pulled downe their houſes,[401] and for haſt in one place had left ſome of their Corne couered with a Mat, and no body with it. [59]

With much feare they entertained vs at firſt, but ſeeing

[400] An Indian ſkeleton was exhumed in Weſt Medford, Maſs., 21 Oct., 1862, a ſhort diſtance S. E. from Myſtic Pond, which, partly becauſe there was with it a pipe with a copper mouth-piece, it was thought might be *Nanepaſhemet's*.—[*Proceedings Maſſ. Hiſt. Soc.*, Dec., 1862.]

[401] "They are quicke; in halfe a day, yea, ſometimes at few houres warning to be gone and the houſe up elsewhere, eſpecially, if they have ſtakes readie pitcht for their Mats.

"I once in travell lodged at a houſe, at which in my returne I hoped to have lodged againe the next night, but the houſe was gone in that interim, and I was glad to lodge under a tree."—[Roger Williams, *Key*, &c., *R.-I. Hiſt. Coll.*, 56.]

our gentle carriage towards them, they tooke heart and entertained vs in the beſt manner they could, boyling Cod and ſuch other things as they had for vs. At length with much ſending for came one of their men, ſhaking and trembling for feare. But when he ſaw we intended them no hurt, but came to trucke, he promiſed vs his skins alſo. Of him we enquired for their Queene, but it ſeemed ſhee was far from thence, at leſt we could not ſee her.[402]

Here *Tiſquantum* would haue had vs rifled the Saluage women, and taken their skins, and all ſuch things as might be ſeruiceable for vs; for (ſayd he) they are a bad people, and haue oft threatned you: But our anſwere was; Were they neuer ſo bad, we would not wrong them, or giue them any juſt occaſion againſt vs: for their words we little weighed them, but if they once attempted any thing againſt vs, then we would deale far worſe then he deſired.

Hauing well ſpent the day, we returned to the Shallop, almoſt all the Women accompanying vs, to trucke, who fold their coats from their backes, and tyed boughes about them, but with great ſhamefaſtneſſe[403] (for indeed they are more modeſt then ſome of our Engliſh women are) we promiſed them to come againe to them, and they vs, to keepe their skins.

[402] Mr. Shattuck ſeems to ſuggeſt that her reſidence was in Concord, Maſſachuſetts. — [*Hiſt. Concord*, 3.]

[403] Shamefacedneſs.

Within this Bay, the Salvages ſay, there are two Riuers; the one whereof we ſaw, hauing a faire entrance, but we had no time to diſcouer it.[404] Better harbours for ſhipping cannot be then here are. At the entrance of the Bay are many Rockes;[405] and in all likelihood very good fiſhing ground.[406] Many, yea, moſt of the Ilands haue beene inhabited, ſome being cleered from end to end, but the people are all dead, or remoued.

Our victuall growing ſcarce, the Winde comming fayre, and hauing a light Moone, we ſet out at euening, and through the goodneſſe of GOD, came ſafely home before noone the day following.[407] [60]

404 The Myſtic and the Charles, the former of which they ſaw in their viſit to *Nanepaſhemet's* houſe and grave, &c.

405 The Brewſters, Calf Iſland, Egg Rock, The Graves, Harding's Rocks, and Rainsford Rocks, keep their places in and around our harbor.

406 A ſuppoſition that would then have found abundant verification, — more ſo than now.

407 *Saturday*, $\frac{22 \text{ Sept.}}{2 \text{ Oct.}}$, 1621.

A LETTER SENT FROM *New-England* to a friend in theſe parts,[408]

ſetting forth a briefe and true Declaration
of the worth of that Plantation;
As alſo certaine vſefull Directions
for ſuch as intend a VOYAGE
into thoſe Parts.

OUing, and old Friend,[409] although I receiued no Letter from you by this Ship,[410] yet foraſmuch as I know you expect the performance of my promiſe, which was, to write vnto you truely and faithfully of all things. I haue therefore at this time ſent vnto you accordingly. Referring you for fur-

[408] This heading was prefixed in England by the party receiving the letter, who was probably the perſon who publiſhed the ſame, with the "more large Relations" which accompanied it, and to which reference is made. Writing in England, he naturally ſays, "theſe" parts.

[409] There is reaſonable evidence that this was George Morton. — See Introduction.

[410] The ſhip which carried this letter from New Plymouth to old England was the Fortune, the firſt which followed the Mayflower, in the intereſt of the colony. She was of fifty-five tons, and ſailed from London "in the beginning of July [1621], but it was the end of Auguſt ere they could paſs Plymouth, and arrived at New Plymouth in New England the eleventh of November." — [Smith's *New*

ther ſatisfaction to our more large Relations[411] You ſhall vnderſtand, that in this little time, that a few of vs haue beene here,[412] we haue built ſeauen dwelling houſes, and foure for the vſe of the Plantation,[413] and haue made preparation for divers others. We ſet the laſt Spring ſome twentie Acres of *Indian* Corne, and ſowed ſome ſix Acres of Barly & Peaſe, and according to the manner of the *Indians*, we manured our ground with Herings or rather Shadds,[414] which we haue in great abundance, and take with great eaſe at our doores[415] Our Corne did proue

Eng. Trials, 16.] She was laded, for her return voyage, "with good clapbord as full as ſhe could ſtowe, and 2. hoggſheads of beaver and other ſkins," &c., the freight being eſtimated "to be worth near £500." —[Bradford, *Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 108.] Bradford ſays ſhe "ſtayed not above 14. days" (probably after ſhe was unladen) [*Ibid*, 110]; and ſhe evidently failed on her return voyage on *Thurſday*, $\frac{13}{23}$ Dec., 1621 [*Cuſhman Genealogy*, 64]; and, as ſhe neared the Engliſh coaſt, was taken by a French cruiſer, carried into the Ile d'Yeu, robbed of all her valuables, and then releaſed, reaching England on *Sunday*, $\frac{17}{27}$ Feb., $162\frac{1}{2}$.

411 Which make up the bulk of this volume.

412 Winſlow's letter bears date, *Tueſday*, $\frac{11}{21}$ Dec., 1621. They had landed at Plymouth, from the Mayflower, to commence their ſettlement on *Wedneſday*, $\frac{20}{30}$ Dec., 1620; ſo that the "little time" of which Winſlow ſpeaks lacked but nine days of a year.

413 It muſt be remembered that the 102 with whom they landed on Cape Cod had been reduced exactly one half by death; ſo that ſeven dwelling-houſes would now accommodate the whole, — in families of from ſeven to eight in each.

414 The fiſh intended was, beyond queſtion, the alewive. (See note 212.) Thomas Morton ſays, "There is a Fiſh (by ſome called ſhadds, by ſome *allizes* [alewives]), that at the ſpring of the yeare paſſe up the rivers to ſpaune in the ponds; and are taken in ſuch multitudes in every river, that hath a pond at the end, that the Inhabitants doung their ground with them. You may ſee 100 acres together ſet with theſe Fiſh, every acre taking 1000. of them."—[*New Eng. Canaan*, Force, II., v. 60.]

415 In Town Brook, as the fiſh thronged it in the ſpring to go up.

well, & God be prayſed, we had a good increaſe of *Indian*-Corne, and our Barly indifferent good, but our Peaſe not worth the gathering, for we feared they were too late ſowne, they came vp very well, and bloſſomed, but the Sunne parched [61] them in the bloſſome; our harveſt being gotten in, our Governour[416] ſent foure men on fowling, that ſo we might after a more ſpeciall manner reioyce together, after we had gathered the fruit of our labours;[417] they foure in one day killed as much fowle, as with a little helpe beſide, ſerved the Company almoſt a weeke, at which time amongſt other Recreations, we exerciſed our Armes, many of the *Indians* coming amongſt vs, and amongſt the reſt their greateſt King *Maſſaſoyt*, with ſome ninetie men, whom for three dayes we entertained and feaſted, and they went out and k lled fiue Deere, which they brought to the Plantation and beſtowed on our Governour, and vpon the Captaine, and others. And although it be not alwayes ſo plentifull, as it was at this time with vs, yet by the goodneſſe of God, we are ſo farre from want, that we often wiſh you partakers of our plentie.[418] Wee haue found the *Indians* very faithfull in their Covenant of Peace with vs; very louing and readie to pleaſure vs: we often goe to them, and they

[416] "Shortly after [*i. e.* after Carver's death, juſt ſubſequent to $\frac{5}{15}$ April, 1621] William Bradford was choſen Gover in his ſtead." — [Bradford, *Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 101.]

[417] Here began that peculiar New-England feſtival,—the annual autumnal *Thanksgiving*.

[418] This was written honeſtly when it was written, though the addition of

come to vs; ſome of vs haue bin fiftie myles by Land in the Country with them; the occaſions and Relations whereof, you ſhall vndeſtand by our generall and more full Declaration of ſuch things as are worth the noting,[419] yea, it hath pleaſed God ſo to poſſeſſe the *Indians* with a feare of vs, and loue vnto vs, that not onely the greateſt King amongſt them called *Maſſaſoyt*, but alſo all the Princes and peoples round about vs, haue either made ſute vnto vs, or beene glad of any occaſion to make peace with vs, ſo that ſeauen of them at once haue ſent their meſſengers to vs to that end,[420] yea, an Fle[421] at ſea, which we neuer ſaw hath alſo together with the former

the Fortune's company to theirs, and the neceſſity of victualing that ſhip for her return voyage, made them know what famine was in the winter that was then beginning. Bradford ſays, "So they were preſently [after the Fortune ſailed] put to half alowance, one as well as an other, which begane to be hard; but they bore it patiently under hope of ſupply." [110.]

[419] See pp. 98–111.

[420] Morton [*N. E. Memorial*, 29] gives the following document, to which Winſlow moſt likely refers, although *nine* names appear upon it:—

"*September* $\frac{13}{23}$ *Anno Dom.* 1621.

"Know all men by theſe Preſents, That we whoſe Names are "under-written do acknowledge our "ſelves to be the Loyal Subjects of "King *James*, King of *Great Britain*, "*France* and *Ireland*, Defender of "the Faith *&c.* In Witneſs where-"of, and as a Teſtimonial of the ſame, "we have Subſcribed our Names or "Marks, as followeth.

"*Ohquamehud.* *Chikkatabak.*
"*Cawnacome.* *Quadaquina.*
"*Obbatinnua.* *Huttamoiden.*
"*Nattawahunt.* *Apannow.*
"*Caunbatant.*"

[421] This is, clearly, a miſprint for "Ile." The reference ſeems to be to an occurrence in the latter part of Auguſt, 1621, when, Bradford ſays, "Thoſe of ye *Iles of Capawack* ſent to make frendſhip."—[*Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 104.] Morton, ſpeaking of *Capewak*, adds, in the margin, "Now called Martins Vineyard."—[*N. E. Memorial*, 26.] Richard Vines, in his deed to Thomas Mayhew (of date $\frac{25\ \text{Oct.}}{4\ \text{Nov.}}$, 1641), ſpeaks of "ye Iſlands of *Capawock* als *Martha's Vineyard*."—[Hough's *Nantucket Papers*, 4.]

yeelded willingly to be vnder the protection, and ſubiects to our ſoueraigne Lord King IAMES, ſo that there is now great peace amongſt the *Indians* themſelues, which was not formerly, neither would haue bin but for vs; and we for our parts walke as peaceably and ſafely in the wood, as in the hie-wayes in *England*, we entertaine them familiarly in our houſes, and they as friendly beſtowing their Veniſon on vs. They are a people without any Religion, or knowledge of any God,[422] yet very truſtie, [62] quicke of apprehenſion, ripe witted, iuſt, the men and women goe naked, onely a skin about their middles; for the temper of the ayre, here it agreeth well with that in *England*, and if there be any difference at all, this is ſomewhat hotter in Summer, ſome thinke it to be colder in Winter, but I cannot out of experience ſo ſay; the ayre is very cleere and not foggie, as hath beene reported. I neuer in my life remember a more ſeaſonable yeare, then we haue here enioyed: and if we haue once but Kine, Horſes, and Sheepe, I make no queſtion, but men might liue as contented here, as in any part of the world. For fiſh and fowle, we haue great abundance, freſh Codd in the Summer is but courſe[423] meat with vs, our Bay is full of Lobſters all the Summer, and affordeth varietie of

[422] "Whereas myſelf, and others, in former letters, (which came to the preſs againſt my will and knowledge,) wrote that the Indians about us are a people without any religion, or knowledge of any God, therein I erred, though we could then gather no better, &c." — [Winſlow's *Good News*, &c., in Young's *Plym. Chron.*, 355.]

[423] *Courſe* — rude, mean.—[*Bailey.*]

other Fiſh; in September we can take a Hogſhead of Eeles in a night, with ſmall labour, & can dig them out of their beds, all the Winter[424] we haue Muſſells and Othus[425] at our doores: Oyſters we haue none neere, but we can haue them brought by the *Indians* when we will; all the Spring time the earth ſendeth forth naturally very good Sallet Herbs;[426] here are Grapes, white and red, and very ſweete and ſtrong alſo. Strawberies, Gooſeberies, Raſpas,[427] &c. Plums of three ſorts, with[428] blacke and red, being almoſt as good as a Damſen: abundance of Roſes, white, red, and damask: ſingle, but very ſweet indeed; the Countrey wanteth onely induſtrious men to imploy, for it would grieue your hearts (if as I) you had ſeene ſo many myles together by goodly Riuers vninhabited,[429] and withall to conſider thoſe parts of the world wherein you liue, to be euen greatly burthened with abundance of people. Theſe things I thought good to let you vnderſtand, being the truth of things as nere as I

424 The previous winter had been exceptionally mild. See note 261; also note 327.

425 What ſhould be the true correction of this is not quite ſo obvious as the fact of the miſprint. Dr. Young ſuggeſts [*Plym. Chron.*, 233] that it was intended for "other," the word "ſhell-fiſh" being accidentally omitted. Dr. Cheever, in his reprint [*N. E. in America*, 97], says, "Perhaps this is a miſprint for the word *cockles*." I am familiar enough with the locality, and its shell-fiſhery, to feel ſure that the word which Winſlow *ought* to have written here was "clams;" while I think it quite as likely that that word in the Ms. would have been twiſted into this text, as any other.

426 Salad herbs.

427 Probably written *Raſpis*, which is an obſolete name for the raſpberry. —[*Webſter.*]

428 A miſprint for "white"?

429 See the narrative of the journey to *Packanokik*, eſpecially page 103.

could experimentally take knowledge of, and that you might on our behalfe giue God thankes who hath delt ſo fauourably with vs.

Our ſupply of men from you came the ninth of *November* 1621. putting in at Cape Cod, ſome eight or ten leagues from vs, the *Indians* that dwell thereabout were they who were owners of the Corne which we found in Caues, for which we haue giuen them full content, and are in great [63] league with them, they ſent vs word there was a ſhip[430] nere vnto them, but thought it to be a French man, and indeede for our ſelues, we expected not a friend ſo ſoone. But when we perceived that ſhe made for our Bay, the Gouernor commanded a great Peece to be ſhot off, to call home ſuch as were abroad at worke; whereupon euery man, yea, boy that could handle a Gun were readie, with full reſolution, that if ſhe were an Enemy, we would ſtand in our iuſt defence, not fearing them, but God provided better for vs then we ſuppoſed; theſe came all in health vnto vs, not any being ſicke by the way (otherwiſe then by Sea ſickneſſe) and ſo continue at this time, by the bleſſing of God,[431] the

430 The *Fortune*.

431 The number of perſons added to the Plymouth colony by this arrival was thirty-five; beſides whom came Robert Cuſhman, to return with the ſhip. The names of theſe paſſengers, arranged in the order in which they received their lots [*Plym. Col. Rec.*, xii. 5], were as follows: —

1. William Hilton [left wife and two children to come in the Ann. He removed to Dover, N. H., before 1627, and thence to Kit-

good-wife *Ford* was deliuered of a ſonne the firſt night ſhee landed, and both of them are very well. When it pleaſeth God, we are ſetled and fitted for the fiſhing

tery, Me., where he was living in 1661. — Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, ii. 423.]

2. John Winſlow [brother of Edward, came ſingle; married Mary Chilton. In 1657, removed to Boſton, where he was a thrifty merchant, and died 1674, leaving a large family. — Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, iv. 601.]
3. William Conner [came ſingle; died or removed before 1627.]
4. John Adams [came ſingle; married Elinor Newton; died 1633, leaving two ſons and a daughter. — Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, i. 11.]
5. William Tench [came ſingle, and either died or removed before 1627.]
6 John Cannon [came ſingle, and died or removed before 1627.]
7. Hugh Stacie [removed to Dedham, and thence to Salem. It is conjectured that he may have thence gone home, and been the perſon of that name who with his wife helped to form the Congregational Church in Wrentham, England, under Rev. John Phillip, in 1650. — Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, iv. 159; Browne's *Hiſt. Cong. Ch. at Wrentham, Suffolk*, 13.]
8. William Beale [came ſingle, and died or removed before 1627.]
9. Thomas Cuſhman [was ſon of Robert, now fourteen years old, and left with Gov. Bradford; was freeman in 1633; married Mary Allerton, $163\frac{5}{6}$; removed to Jones's River, in Kingſton, about 1637, where he lived and died; 1649 was choſen Ruling Elder of the Plymouth Church; died $\frac{11}{21}$ Dec., 1691. — *Cuſhman Genealogy*, 84–99.]
10. Auſtin Nicholas [died or removed before 1627.]
11. Widow Ford [had lately loſt her husband, probably in England, and brought with her children William, John, and Martha, and had another child the night after landing. It has been conjectured that ſhe married Peter Browne (ſee note 27, No. 33, and note 265), and that ſhe returned, or died, before 1627. — Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, ii. 182.]
12. William Wright [had wife Priſcilla, and by his will of $\frac{16}{26}$ Sept., 1633, ſeems to have had no children. — Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, iv. 661.]
13 William Pitt [muſt have died or removed (perhaps to Marblehead) between 1624 and 1627.]
14 Robert Hicks. [His wife Margaret followed in the Ann, with two ſons and two daughters. Hicks had been a leather-dreſſer in

buſines, and other trading, I doubt not but by the bleſſing of God, the gayne will giue content to all; in the meane time, that we haue gotten we haue ſent by

London. He died $\frac{24 \text{ Mar.}}{3 \text{ Apr.}}$, $164\frac{7}{8}$. — Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, ii., 410.]

15. Thomas Prence [was ſon of Thomas of Lechlade, Glouceſterſhire; married, $\frac{5}{15}$ Aug., 1624, Patience, daughter of Elder William Brewſter; had five children by her; ſhe died in 1634, and he removed to Duxbury, and married, $\frac{1}{10}$ April, 1635, Mary, daughter of William Collier, by whom he had four children; was Governor and Aſſiſtant; removed to Eaſtham in 1645, where his wife died, and, 1662, he married the widow of Samuel Freeman; he removed again, in 1663, to Plymouth, where he died, $\frac{29 \text{ March}}{8 \text{ April}}$, $167\frac{3}{4}$, aged 72. — Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, iii. 477.]

16. Stephen Dean [built the firſt cornmill in New England, in 1632; married, about 1627, Elizabeth Ring; had three daughters, and died in Sept., 1634. — Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, ii. 30.]

17. Moſes Symonſon (Simmons) [was born at Leyden; probably brought wife with him, but no child; ſettled at Duxbury; was one of the original proprietors of Dartmouth, Bridgewater, and Middleborough, but does not appear to have removed to either. He left two children. Winſlow ſays of him (*Hypocriſie Unmaſked*, 95), "Yea at this very inſtant, another called *Moſes Symonſon*, becauſe a child of one that was in communion with the *Dutch* Church at *Leyden*, is admitted into Church-fellowſhip at *Plymouth* in *New-England*, and his children alſo to Baptiſm, as well as our own," &c. — Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, iv. 100.]

18. Philip de la Noye (Delano). [Of him Winſlow ſays (*Hypocriſie Unmaſked*, 96), "There is alſo one *Philip Delanoy* born of *French* parents, came to us from *Leyden* to *New-Plymouth*, who comming to age of diſcerning, demanded alſo communion with vs, & proving himſelf to be come of ſuch parents as were in ful communion with the *French* Churches, was here upon admitted by the Church of Plymouth; and after upon his removal of habitation to *Duxburrow* where M. *Ralph Partridge* is Paſtor of the Church; and upon Letters of recommendation from the Church at *Plymouth*, hee was alſo admitted into fellowſhip with the Church at *Duxburrow*, being ſix miles diſtant from *Plymouth* &c." He mar-

this ſhip, and though it be not much, yet it will witneſſe for vs, that wee haue not beene idle, conſidering the

ried, $\frac{19}{29}$ Dec., 1634, Eſther Dewſbury, and, after her death, Mary, widow of James Glaſs and daughter of William Pontus, and had nine children. He removed to Duxbury ſoon after 1632, and died about 1681, *æt.* 79, leaving an eſtate valued at £50.—Winſor's *Duxbury*, 65, 251.]

19. Edward Bompaſſe (Bumpus) [lived at Duxbury before 1634, but moſt of his days at Marſhfield; had wife Hannah and eight children. — Thomas's *Mem. of Marſhfield*, 48.]

20. Clement Briggs [was quite young when he landed now; removed to Dorcheſter; there married Joan Allen, $163\frac{0}{1}$; thence removed to Weymouth. He had five ſons.—Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, i. 251.]

21. James Stewart [died or removed before 1627.]

22. William Palmer [brought his ſon William, his wife Frances coming in the next ſhip; he removed to Duxbury; had a ſecond wife; died early in 1638. — Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, iii. 342.]

23. Jonathan Brewſter [was eldeſt ſon of the Elder. Mr. Savage ſays he was born in Scrooby, Eng. But I have in my poſſeſſion a copy of an affidavit from the Leyden Records, which ſtates that he was "about 16 years old" $\frac{25\ \text{June}}{5\ \text{July}}$, 1609, which would throw back his birth to 1583, a date 11 years anterior to Mr. Hunter's record of the preſence of his father at Scrooby. This would make him 37 at landing. He was a ribbon weaver, and received the right of citizenſhip in Leyden, $\frac{30\ \text{June}}{10\ \text{July}}$, 1617. He was in command of the Plymouth trading houſe on Connecticut River, in June, 1636; removed to Duxbury, thence to New London, Ct., before 1649, where he died before Sept., 1659. — *Leyden Mſ. Rec.*; Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, i. 244.]

24. Bennet Morgan [died or removed before 1627.]

25. Thomas Flavel. [His ſon came with him; his wife followed in the Ann; but all were dead or removed before 1627.]

26. Thomas Morton [either died or removed before 1627.]

27. William Baſſet [was a "journeyman maſon" from Sandwich, Eng.; $\frac{9}{19}$ May, 1611, was to have married Maggie Butler of Norwich, but ſhe died; $\frac{13}{23}$ Aug., 1611, did marry Margaret Oldham; had a wife *Elizabeth*, with three children, at Plymouth in 1627; lived at Duxbury in 1637; removed to Bridgewater, and died 1667. —

ſmallneſſe of our number all this Summer.[432] We hope the Marchants will accept of it, and be incouraged to furniſh vs with things needfull for further imployment, which will alſo incourage vs to put forth our ſelues to the vttermoſt. Now becauſe I expect your comming vnto vs[433] with other of our friends, whoſe companie we much deſire, I thought good to aduertiſe you of a few things needfull; be carefull to haue a very good bread-roome to put your Biskets in, let your Cask for Beere and Water be Iron-bound for the firſt tyre if not more; let not your meat be drie ſalted, none can better doe it then the Saylers; let your meale be ſo hard trodd in your Cask that you ſhall need an Ads or Hatchet to worke it out with: Truſt not too much on vs for Corne at this time, for by reaſon of this laſt company that came, depending wholy vpon vs, we shall haue little enough till harueſt; be carefull to come by ſome of your meale to ſpend by the way, it will much refreſh you, build your Cabbins as open as you can, and bring good ſtore of clothes, and bed- [64] ing with you; bring euery man a Musket or fowling Peece, let your Peece be long in the barrell, and feare not the waight of it, for moſt of our ſhooting is from Stands; bring iuyce

Leyden Mſ. Rec.; Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, i. 136.]

Theſe twenty-ſeven, with ſuch of their wives and children as came with them, made up the full number brought by the ſhip, unleſs ſome one died in the interval before this liſt was made.

[432] See note 372.

[433] George Morton came with his family in the Ann, which ſailed from London the laſt of April, or firſt of May, 1623.

of Lemons, and take it faſting, it is of good vſe; for hot waters, Anni-ſeed water is the beſt, but vſe it ſparingly: if you bring any thing for comfort in the Country, Butter or Sallet oyle, or both is very good; our *Indian* Corne even the courſeſt, maketh as pleaſant meat as Rice, therefore ſpare that vnleſſe to ſpend by the way; bring Paper, and Linced oyle for your Windowes,[434] with Cotton yarne for your Lamps; let your ſhott be moſt for bigge Fowles, and bring ſtore of Powder and ſhot: I forbeare further to write for the preſent, hoping to ſee you by the next returne, ſo I take my leaue, commending you to the LORD for a ſafe conduct vnto vs. Reſting in him

Plimmouth in *New-England*
this 11. of December.
1621.[435]

Your louing Friend
E. W.[436] [65]

434 This, with the "daubing" before mentioned (ſee note 282), give one an idea of the rudeneſs of the houſes of this plantation at this time. Glaſs windows were then far beyond their means.

435 *Tueſday*, $\frac{11}{21}$ Dec., 1621, — juſt one year from the day on which the firſt landing took place from the ſhallop upon the rock.

436 There can be no doubt that this was Edward Winſlow. (See note 152.)

Reaſons & conſiderations touching the lawfulneſſe of remouing out of *England* into the parts of *America.*

The Preamble.

FOraſmuch as many exceptions are daily made againſt the going into, and inhabiting of forraine deſert places, to the hinderances of plantations abroad, and the increaſe of diſtractions at home: It is not amiſſe that ſome which haue beene eare witneſſes of the exceptions made, and are either Agents or Abettors of ſuch remouals and plantations, doe ſeeke to giue content to the world, in all things that poſſibly they can.

And although the moſt of the oppoſites are ſuch as either dreame of raiſing their fortunes here, to that then which there is nothing more vnlike, or ſuch as affecting their home-borne countrey ſo vehemently, as that they had rather with all their friends begge, yea ſtarue in it, then vndergoe a little difficultie in ſeeking abroad; yet are there ſome who out of doubt in tenderneſſe of conſcience, and feare to offend God by running before they be called, are ſtraitned and doe ſtraiten others, from going to forraine plantations.

For whoſe cauſe eſpecially, I haue beene drawne out of my good affection to them, to publiſh ſome reaſons that might giue them content and ſatisfaction, and alſo ſtay and ſtop the wilfull and wittie cauiller: and herein I truſt

I ſhall not be blamed of any godly wiſe, though thorow my ſlender iudgement I ſhould miſſe the marke, and not ſtrike the naile on the head, conſidering it is the firſt attempt that hath beene made (that I know of) to defend thoſe enterpriſes. Reaſon would therefore, that if any man of deeper reach and better iudgement ſee further or otherwiſe, that he rather inſtruct me, then deride me.

Cautions.

Gen. 12. 1, 2. & 35. 1.

And being ſtudious for breuitie, we muſt firſt conſider, that whereas God of old did call and ſummon our Fathers by predictions, dreames, viſions, and certaine illuminations [66] to goe from their countries, places and habitations, to reſide and dwell here or there, and to wander vp and downe from citie to citie, and Land to Land, according to his will and pleaſure. Now there is no ſuch calling to be expected for any matter whatſoeuer, neither muſt any ſo much as imagine that there will now be any ſuch thing. God did once ſo traine vp his people, but now he doth not, but ſpeakes in another manner, and ſo we muſt apply our ſelues to Gods preſent dealing, and not to his wonted dealing: and as the miracle of giuing *Manna* ceaſed, when the fruits of the land became plentie, ſo God hauing ſuch a plentifull ſtorehouſe of directions in his holy word, there muſt not now any extraordinarie reuelations be expected.

Mat. 2. 19.

Pſal. 105. 13.

Heb. 1. 1, 2.

Ioſh. 5. 12.

But now the ordinarie examples and precepts of the Scriptures reaſonably and rightly vnderſtood and applied,

muſt be the voice and word, that muſt call vs, preſſe vs, and direct vs in euery action.

Neither is there any land or poſſeſſion now, like vnto the poſſeſſion which the Iewes had in *Canaan*, being legally holy and appropriated vnto a holy people the ſeed of *Abraham*, in which they dwelt ſecurely, and had their daies prolonged, it being by an immediate voice ſaid, that he (the Lord) gaue it them as a land of reſt after their wearie trauels, and a type of *Eternall* reſt in heauen, but now there is no land of that Sanctimonie, no land ſo appropriated; none typicall: much leſſe any that can be ſaid to be giuen of God to any nation as was *Canaan*, which they and their ſeed muſt dwell in, till God ſendeth vpon them ſword or captiuitie: but now we are in all places ſtrangers and Pilgrims, trauellers and ſoiourners, moſt properly, hauing no dwelliug but in this earthen Tabernacle; our dwelling is but a wandring, and our abiding but as a fleeting, and in a word our home is no where, but in the heauens: in that houſe not made with hands, whoſe maker and builder is God, and to which all aſcend that loue the comming of our Lord Jeſus.

Gen. 17. 8.

2 *Cor.* 5. 1, 2, 3.

So were the Iewes, but yet their temporall bleſſings and inheritances were more large then ours

Though then, there may be reaſons to perſwade a man to liue in this or that land, yet there cannot be the ſame reaſons which the Iewes had, but now as naturall, ciuill and Religious [67] bands tie men, ſo they muſt be bound, and as good reaſons for things terrene and heauenly appeare, ſo they muſt be led. And ſo here falleth in our

Obiect. queſtion, how a man that is here borne and bred, and hath liued ſome yeares, may remoue himſelfe into another countrie.

Answ. I anſwer, a man muſt not reſpect only to liue, and doe good to himſelfe, but he ſhould ſee where he can liue to doe moſt good to others: for as one ſaith, *He whoſe liuing is but for himſelfe, it is time he were dead.* Some men there are who of neceſſitie muſt here liue, as being tied to duties either to Church, Common-wealth, houſhold, kindred, &c. but others, and that many, who doe no good in none of thoſe nor can doe none, as being not able, or not in fauour, or as wanting opportunitie, and liue as outcaſts: no bodies, eie-ſores, eating but for themſelues, teaching but themſelues, and doing good to none, either in ſoule or body, and ſo paſſe ouer daies, yeares, and moneths, yea ſo liue and ſo die. Now ſuch ſhould lift vp their eies and ſee whether there be not ſome other place and countrie to which they may goe to doe good and haue vſe towards others of that knowledge, wiſdome, humanitie, reaſon, ſtrength, skill, facultie, &c. which God hath giuen them for the ſeruice of others and his owne glory.

1 What perſons may hence remoue.

2 Why they ſhould remoue.

But not to paſſe the bounds of modeſtie ſo far as to name any, though I confeſſe I know many, who ſit here ſtill with their talent in a napkin, hauing notable endowments both of body and minde, and might doe great good if they were in ſome places, which here doe none,

Luk. 19. 20.

nor can doe none, and yet through fleſhly feare, niceneſſe, ſtraitneſſe of heart, &c. ſit ſtill and looke on, and will not hazard a dram of health, nor a day of pleaſure, nor an houre of reſt to further the knowledge and ſaluation of the ſons of *Adam* in that *New world*, where a drop of the knowledge of Chriſt is moſt precious, which is here not ſet by. Now what ſhall we ſay to ſuch a profeſſion of Chriſt, to which is ioyned no more deniall of a mans ſelfe? But ſome will ſay, what right haue I to goe liue in the heathens countrie? *Reaſ.* 1. *Obiect.*

Letting paſſe the ancient diſcoueries, contracts and agreements which our Engliſh men haue long ſince made in thoſe [68] parts, together with the acknowledgement of the hiſtories and Chronicles of other nations, who profeſſe the land of *America* from the Cape *De Florida* vnto the Bay of *Canado* (which is South and North 300. leagues and vpwards; and Eaſt and Weſt, further then yet hath beene diſcouered) is proper to the King of England, yet letting that paſſe, leſt I be thought to meddle further then it concerns me, or further then I haue diſcerning: I will mention ſuch things as are within my reach, knowledge, ſight and practiſe, ſince I haue trauailed in theſe affaires. *Anſw.*

And firſt ſeeing we daily pray for the conuerſion of the heathens, we muſt conſider whether there be not ſome ordinary meanes, and courſe for vs to take to conuert them, or whether praier for them be only referred to Gods *Reaſ.* 2.

extraordinarie worke from heauen. Now it ſeemeth vnto me that we ought alſo to endeuour and vſe the meanes to conuert them, and the meanes cannot be vſed vnleſſe we goe to them or they come to vs: to vs they cannot come, our land is full: to them we may goe, their land is emptie.

Reaſ. 3. This then is a ſufficient reaſon to proue our going thither to liue, lawfull: their land is ſpatious and void, & there are few and doe but run ouer the graſſe, as doe alſo the Foxes and wilde beaſts: they are not induſtrious, neither haue art, ſcience, skill or facultie to vſe either the land or the commodities of it, but all ſpoiles, rots, and is marred for want of manuring, gathering, ordering, &c. As the ancient Patriarkes therefore remoued from ſtraiter places into more roomthy, where the Land lay idle and waſte, and none vſed it, though there dwelt inhabitants by them, as *Gen.* 13. 6. 11. 12. and 34. 21. and 41. 20. ſo is it lawfull now to take a land which none vſeth, and make vſe of it.

Reaſ. 4. This is to be conſidered as reſpecting new *England*, and the territories about the plantation. And as it is a common land or vnuſed, & vndreſſed countrey; ſo we haue it by common conſent, compoſition and agreement, which agreement is double: Firſt the Imperial Gouernor *Maſſaſoit*, whoſe circuits in likelihood are larger then *England* and *Scotland*, hath acknowledged the Kings Maieſtie of *England* to be his Maſter and Commander, and that once in my hearing, yea and in writing, vnder his hand to Captaine [69] *Standiſh*, both he and many other Kings which are vnder him, as

Pamet, *Nauſet*, *Cummaquid*, *Narrowhiggonſet*, *Namaſchet*, *&c.*, with diuers others that dwell about the baies of *Patuxet*, and *Maſſachuſet:* neither hath this beene accompliſhed by threats and blowes, or ſhaking of ſword, and ſound of trumpet, for as our facultie that way is ſmall, and our ſtrength leſſe: ſo our warring with them is after another manner, namely by friendly vſage, loue, peace, honeſt and iuſt cariages, good counſell, *&c.*, that ſo we and they may not only liue in peace in that land, and they yeeld ſubiection to an earthly Prince, but that as voluntaries they may be perſwaded at length to embrace the Prince of peace Chriſt Ieſus, and reſt in peace with him for euer. *Pſal.* 110. 3. & 48. 3.

Secondly, this compoſition is alſo more particular and applicatorie as touching our ſelues there inhabiting: the Emperour by a ioynt conſent, hath promiſed and appointed vs to liue at peace, where we will in all his dominions, taking what place we will, and as much land as we will, and bringing as many people as we will, and that for theſe two cauſes. Firſt, becauſe we are the ſeruants of *Iames* King of *England*, whoſe the land (as he confeſſeth) is, 2. becauſe he hath found vs iuſt, honeſt, kinde and peaceable, and ſo loues our company; yea, and that in theſe things there is no diſſimulation on his part, nor feare of breach (except our ſecuritie ingender in them ſome vnthought of trecherie, or our vnciuilitie prouoke them to anger) is moſt plaine in other Relations,[437] which

437 The "Relations" preceding in this volume, are thoſe here intended.

ſhew that the things they did were more out of loue then out of feare.

It being then firſt a vaſt and emptie *Chaos:* Secondly acknowledged the right of our Soueraigne King: Thirdly, by a peaceable compoſition in part poſſeſſed of diuers of his louing ſubiects, I ſee not who can doubt or call in queſtion the lawfulneſſe of inhabiting or dwelling there, but that it may be as lawfull for ſuch as are not tied vpon ſome ſpeciall occaſion here, to liue there as well as here, yea, and as the enterpriſe is weightie and difficult, ſo the honour is more worthy, to plant a rude wilderneſſe, to enlarge the honour and fame of our dread Soueraigne, but chiefly to diſplaie the [70] efficacie & power of the Goſpell both in zealous preaching, profeſſing, and wiſe walking vnder it, before the faces of theſe poore blinde Infidels.

As for ſuch as obiect the tediouſneſſe of the voyage thither, the danger of Pirats robberie, of the ſauages
Prou. 22. 13. treacherie, &c. theſe are but Lyons in the way, and it were well for ſuch men if they were in heauen, for who can ſhew them a place in this world where iniquitie ſhall not compaſſe them at the heeles, and where they ſhall
Pſal. 49. 5. *Mat.* 6. 34. haue a day without griefe, or a leaſe of life for a moment; and who can tell but God, what dangers may lie at our doores, euen in our natiue countrie, or what plots may be abroad, or when God will cauſe our ſunne to goe downe
Amos 8. 9. at noone daies, and in the midſt of our peace and

ſecuritie, lay vpon vs ſome laſting ſcourge for our ſo long neglect and contempt of his moſt glorious Goſpell.

But we haue here great peace, plentie of the Goſpell, and many ſweet delights and varietie of comforts. *Ob.*

True indeed, and farre be it from vs to denie and diminiſh the leaſt of theſe mercies, but haue we rendered vnto God thankfull obedience for this long peace, whilſt other peoples haue beene at wars? haue we not rather murmured, repined, and fallen at iars amongſt our ſelues, whilſt our peace hath laſted with forraigne power? was there euer more ſuits in law, more enuie, contempt and reproch then now adaies? *Abraham* and *Lot* departed aſunder when there fell a breach betwixt them, which was occaſioned by the ſtraightneſſe of the land: and ſurely I am perſwaded, that howſoeuer the frailties of men are principall in all contentions, yet the ſtraitnes of the place is ſuch, as each man is faine to plucke his meanes as it were out of his neighbours throat, there is ſuch preſſing and oppreſſing in towne and countrie, about Farmes, trades, traffique, &c. ſo as a man can hardly any where ſet vp a trade but he ſhall pull downe two of his neighbours. *Anſw.* *2 Chron.* 32. 25. *Gen.* 13. 9, 10.

The Townes abound with young tradeſ-men, and the Hoſpitals are full of the Auncient, the country is replen-iſhed with new Farmers, and the Almeſ-houſes are filled with old Labourers, many there are who get their liuing with bearing burdens, but moe are faine to burden the

land with their [71] whole bodies: multitudes get their meanes of life by prating, and ſo doe numbers more by begging. Neither come theſe ſtraits vpon men alwaies through intemperancy, ill husbandry, indiſcretion, &c. as ſome thinke, but euen the moſt wiſe, ſober, and diſcreet men, goe often to the wall, when they haue done their beſt, wherein as God's prouidence ſwaieth all, ſo it is eaſie to ſee, that the ſtraitneſſe of the place hauing in it ſo many ſtrait hearts, cannot but produce ſuch effects more and more, ſo as euery indifferent minded man ſhould be ready to ſay with Father *Abraham*, *Take thou the right hand, and I will take the left:* Let vs not thus oppreſſe, ſtraiten, and afflict one another, but ſeeing there is a ſpatious Land, the way to which is thorow the ſea, wee will end this difference in a day.

That I ſpeake nothing about the bitter contention that hath beene about Religion, by writing, diſputing, and inueighing earneſtly one againſt another, the heat of which zeale if it were turned againſt the rude barbariſme of the Heathens, it might doe more good in a day, then it hath done here in many yeares. Neither of the little loue to the Goſpell, and profit which is made by the Preachers in moſt places, which might eaſily driue the zealous to the Heathens who no doubt if they had but a drop of that knowledge which here flieth about the ſtreetes, would be filled with exceeding great ioy and

gladneſſe, as that they would euen plucke the kingdome of heauen by violence, and take it as it were by force.

The greateſt let that is yet behinde is the ſweet fellow- The laſt let.
ſhip of friends, and the ſatietie of bodily delights.

But can there be two neerer friends almoſt then *Abraham* and *Lot*, or then *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and yet vpon as little occaſions as we haue heere, they departed aſunder, two of them being Patriarches of the Church of old; the other the Apoſtles of the Church which is new, and their couenants were ſuch as it ſeemeth might binde as much as any couenant betweene men at this day, and yet to auoid greater inconueniences they departed aſunder.

Neither muſt men take ſo much thought for the fleſh, as not [72] to be pleaſed except they can pamper their bodies with varietie of dainties. Nature is content with little, and health is much endangered, by mixtures vpon the ſtomach: The delights of the palate doe often inflame the vitall parts: as the tongue ſetteth a fire the whole *Iames* 3. 6.
body. Secondly, varieties here are not common to all, but many good men are glad to ſnap at a cruſt. The rent taker liues on ſweet morſels, but the rent payer eats a drie cruſt often with watery eies: and it is nothing to ſay what ſome one of a hundreth hath, but what the bulke, body and cominalty hath, which I warrant you is ſhort enough.

And they alſo which now liue ſo ſweetly, hardly will their children attaine to that priuiledge, but ſome circum-

uentor or other will outſtrip them, and make them ſit in the duſt, to which men are brought in one age, but cannot get out of it againe in 7. generations.

To conclude, without all partialitie, the preſent conſumption which groweth vpon vs here, whilſt the land groaneth vnder ſo many cloſe-fiſted and vnmercifull men, being compared with the eaſineſſe, plaineneſſe and plentifulneſſe in liuing in thoſe remote places, may quickly perſwade any man to a liking of this courſe, and to practiſe a remoual, which being done by honeſt, godly and induſtrious men, they ſhall there be right hartily welcome, but for other of diſſolute and prophane life, their roomes are better then their companies; for if here where the Goſpell hath beene ſo long and plentifully taught, they are yet frequent in ſuch vices as the Heathen would ſhame to ſpeake of, what will they be when there is leſſe reſtraint in word and deed? My onely ſute to all men is, that whether they liue there or here, they would learne to vſe this world as they vſed it not, keeping faith and a good conſcience, both with God and men, that when the day of account ſhall come, they may come forth as good and fruitfull ſeruants, and freely be receiued, and enter into the ioy of their maſter.

R. C.

FINIS.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Chronological Table of Events.

Day of week.	O. S.	N. S.	Year.	EVENTS.	Page.
—	July.	July.	1620	Left Leyden	1
S.	5 Aug.	15 Aug.	"	Sailed from Southampton	1
S.	13 Aug.	23 Aug.	"	Put back to Dartmouth	1
W.	23 Aug.	2 Sept.	"	Sailed again	1
—	——	——	"	Put back, the ſecond time, to Plymouth	1
W.	6 Sept.	16 Sept.	"	Sailed from Plymouth	1
Th.	9 Nov.	19 Nov.	"	Saw Cape Cod	2
S.	11 Nov.	21 Nov.	"	Anchored in Provincetown harbor, ſigned compact, and went aſhore	3
M.	13 Nov.	23 Nov.	"	Unſhipped the ſhallop, and went on ſhore to waſh, &c.	11
W.	15 Nov.	25 Nov.	"	Started on firſt expedition inland — camped at Stout's Creek	15
Th.	16 Nov.	26 Nov.	"	Found the Truro Springs; made fire; went to Pond Village, Pamet River, and Cornhill; dug up corn, &c.; and went back to Pond Village for the night	16–24
F.	17 Nov.	27 Nov.	"	Sunk the kettle in the pond, and went back to the ſhip	24–26
M.	27 Nov.	7 Dec.	"	Large exploring party ſtarted in the ſhallop, and got to E. Harbor Creek	28
T.	28 Nov.	8 Dec.	"	Went on to Pamet River, and inland from it	29
W.	29 Nov.	9 Dec.	"	Reviſited Cornhill, and Maſter Jones and a part returned	30–32
Th.	30 Nov.	10 Dec.	"	Found the wigwams, graves, &c., &c., and got back that night and found Peregrine White had been born in their abſence	32–37
T.	5 Dec.	15 Dec.	"	Francis Billington nearly blows up the Mayflower	42
W.	6 Dec.	16 Dec.	"	The third exploring party ſtarted in the ſhallop, and got as far as Eaſtham	43–47

Day of week.	O. S.	N. S.	Year.	EVENTS.	Page.
Th.	7 Dec.	17 Dec.	1620	Explored up toward Wellfleet Bay, and inland, and ſlept at Great-Meadow Creek	47–51
F.	8 Dec.	18 Dec.	"	Firſt encounter with the Indians ; then coaſted round, and ran in under the lee of Clark's Iſland, in Plymouth Harbor, in a north-eaſter, in the evening	51–58
S.	9 Dec.	19 Dec.	"	Staid on the Iſland, probably refitting their broken maſt, &c., &c.	59
S.	10 Dec.	20 Dec.	"	Kept the Sabbath on Clark's Iſland ...	59
M.	11 Dec.	21 Dec.	"	FOREFATHER'S DAY. Landed on the rock, and explored the coaſt	59
T.	12 Dec.	22 Dec.	"	Started back for the Mayflower, and probably reached her	59
F.	15 Dec.	25 Dec.	"	Weighed anchor for Plymouth, but could not fetch the harbor, and were obliged to put back toward Cape Cod	60
S.	16 Dec.	26 Dec.	"	Dropped anchor inſide Plymouth Beach	60
M.	18 Dec.	28 Dec.	"	Landed from the Mayflower, and explored	61–62
T.	19 Dec.	29 Dec.	"	Landed for a ſecond exploration.....	63–64
W.	20 Dec.	30 Dec.	"	Landed again, and determined to ſettle near Burial Hill and Town Brook...	64
Th.	21 Dec.	31 Dec.	"	Stormy and wet, ſo that thoſe in the ſhip could not go aſhore, and thoſe on the ſhore could do nothing. Richard Britteridge dies.....	65–66
F.	22 Dec.	1 Jan.	162$^{0}_{1}$	Still ſtormy. Goodwife Allerton (Mrs. Isaac) has a ſtillborn ſon	66
S.	23 Dec.	2 Jan.	"	Commence to gather ſtuff for building..	66
S.	24 Dec.	3 Jan.	"	Thoſe on ſhore hear a cry of ſavages, as they think. Solomon Prower dies	66
M.	25 Dec.	4 Jan.	"	Buſy in building the common houſe ; thought they heard Indians towards night. Began to drink water on board.....	66–67
T.	26 Dec.	5 Jan.	"	Foul weather ; no going aſhore.....	67
W.	27 Dec.	6 Jan.	"	Got to work again	67
Th.	28 Dec.	7 Jan.	"	Divided the company into 19 families, and meaſured out lots	67–68
F.	29 Dec.	8 Jan.	"	Tried to work, but rainy.....	68
S.	30 Dec.	9 Jan.	"	Do. Saw Indian ſmokes.....	68–69
M.	1 Jan.	10 Jan.	"	At work again. Digory Prieſt dies....	69
W.	3 Jan.	13 Jan.	"	Thoſe who were cutting thatch ſaw more Indian ſmokes, but nó Indians.....	70

Day of week.	O. S.	N. S.	Year.	EVENTS.	Page.
Th.	4 Jan.	14 Jan.	$162\frac{0}{1}$	Standiſh with a party went out, and found wigwams, but no natives. Shot an eagle, and likened it to mutton!..	70
F.	5 Jan.	15 Jan.	"	A ſailor found a herring; ſo they hoped for fiſh ſoon, but had no cod-hooks ..	70
S.	6 Jan.	16 Jan.	"	C. Martin very ſick, and ſends aſhore for Carver, who goes on Sunday morning	70
M.	8 Jan.	18 Jan.	"	A fine fair day; the ſhallop goes out for fiſh, and has good ſucceſs. F. Billington diſcovers the lake ſince called by his name. Martin dies	71
T.	9 Jan.	19 Jan.	"	Divided their lots of land by lot.....	72
Th.	11 Jan.	21 Jan.	"	William Bradford taken ſick while at work	72–73
F.	12 Jan.	22 Jan.	"	Began to rain about noon. John Goodman and Peter Brown loſt themſelves	73–75
S.	13 Jan.	23 Jan.	"	Goodman and Brown found their way back in the evening	75–76
S.	14 Jan.	24 Jan.	"	The thatch of the common houſe took fire and burned. The greater number were now on ſhore, and they had intended to have ſervice there this day, but the fire poſtponed it.....	76
M.	15 Jan.	25 Jan.	"	Rainy again, and no communication between the ſhip and the ſhore.....	77
T.	16 Jan.	26 Jan.	"	A fair, ſunſhiny day, like April	77
W.	17 Jan.	27 Jan.	"	" " "	77
Th.	18 Jan.	28 Jan.	"	" " "	77
F.	19 Jan.	29 Jan.	"	Began to make a ſhed to ſtore proviſion in, but at noon it rained. John Goodman ſaw two wolves.....	77
S.	20 Jan.	30 Jan.	"	Made the ſhed	78
S.	21 Jan.	31 Jan.	"	Kept their meeting on land for the firſt time	78
M.	22 Jan.	1 Feb.	"	Fair day; ſtored their meal in the ſhed	78
M.	29 Jan.	8 Feb.	"	Cold, with ſleet, but cleared up, and the long-boat and ſhallop carried goods aſhore. Roſe Standiſh died	78
T.	30 Jan.	9 Feb.	"	Froſty, with ſleet; could not work.....	78
W.	31 Jan.	10 Feb.	"	Same weather. Saw two ſavages running away, who ſeemed to have been on the Iſland near the ſhip	78
S.	4 Feb.	14 Feb.	"	Wet, and ſo windy as almoſt to endanger the light ſhip, and to waſh out the "daubing" of their houſes.....	79
F.	9 Feb.	19 Feb.	"	So cold they could work but little. The	

Day of week.	O. S.	N. S.	Year.	EVENTS.	Page.
				houſe for the ſick people got on fire, but with little damage. The maſter killed five geeſe, and found a dead deer	79
F.	16 Feb.	26 Feb.	$162\frac{0}{1}$	Fair, but cold. One fowling ſaw twelve Indians and heard more. The Indians made a great fire at night, and carried off ſome tools left in the woods	80
S.	17 Feb.	27 Feb.	"	Had a meeting to eſtabliſh military orders. Choſe Miles Standiſh captain. Saw two ſavages on Watſon's Hill making ſigns, but they ran away	81
W.	21 Feb.	3 Mar.	"	Got the great guns aſhore and mounted them on the hill, and had a feaſt with Maſter Jones. Wm. White, Wm. Mullins, and two others, die..	82
S.	25 Feb.	7 Mar.	"	Mary, wife of Iſaac Allerton, dies	82
S.	3 Mar.	13 Mar.	"	The birds ſang, and there was a thunderſtorm with rain.....	82
W.	7 Mar.	17 Mar.	"	Wind E. Carver went with a party to the great ponds. Sowed ſome garden ſeeds	82
F.	16 Mar.	26 Mar.	"	Had another meeting about military orders, &c., but were interrupted by the coming in upon them of *Samoſet*,	83
S.	17 Mar.	27 Mar.	"	*Samoſet* diſmiſſed with preſents. A fair day	85
S.	18 Mar.	28 Mar.	"	A reaſonable fair day. *Samoſet* came again, with five others, to truck. They were ſent away becauſe it was Sunday; but *Samoſet* would not go, feigning ſickness.....	87
M.	19 Mar.	29 Mar.	"	Fair day. Digged, and ſowed garden ſeeds	89
T.	20 Mar.	30 Mar.	"	Fair day. Digged, and ſowed garden ſeeds	89
W.	21 Mar.	31 Mar.	"	Fine warm day. *Samoſet* ſent away. Another meeting about laws and orders, again interrupted by the Indians coming. The carpenter, long ſick, was able to fit the ſhallop "to fetch all from aboard".....	90
Th.	22 Mar.	1 Apr.	"	Another fine day, and another attempt at public buſineſs interrupted by the coming of *Samoſet* and *Squanto*,	

Day of week.	O. S.	N. S.	Year.	EVENTS.	Page.
				announcing *Maſſaſoit*, who made a formal call, with his brother and ſuit, and concluded a treaty.....	90–95
F.	23 Mar.	2 Apr.	$162\frac{0}{1}$	A very fair day. Viſits exchanged between the coloniſts and *Maſſaſoit's* party. *Squanto* caught a batch of eels. Concluded the ſo-many-times-interrupted laws and orders, and choſe John Carver governor for the enſuing year.....	96–97
M.	2 July	12 July	1621	Stephen Hopkins and Edward Winſlow ſtart for *Pokanokit*, and go to *Namaſket*, and the Indian wear in *Titicut*	98–102
T.	3 July	13 July	"	They croſſed the *Titicut* at *Squabetty*, and proceeded to *Matepyſt* (Gardner's Neck), and thence to *Sowams* (Warren, R. I.), and were welcomed by *Maſſaſoit*	102–107
Th.	5 July	15 July	"	Saw many Sachems, and witneſſed their games, &c., &c.....	108
F.	6 July	16 July	"	Started early and faſting for Plymouth, came to *Matepyſt*, and ſlept at the wear	109
S.	7 July	17 July	"	Got home, wet, weary, and worn.....	111
M.?	6 Au.?	16 Au.?	"	Ten men ſtart for *Nauſet* (Eaſtham), to ſeek John Billington, who had loſt himſelf in the woods. Put in at *Cummaquid* (Barnſtable), at night..	112
T.?	7 Au.?	17 Au.?	"	Saw *Iyanough*, and went on to *Nauſet*, where they found the boy	113–115
W.?	8 Au.?	18 Au.?	"	Returned ſafely to Plymouth	116–117
M.	13 Aug.	23 Aug.	"	They reſolve to ſend ten men armed to *Namaſket*, to revenge the ſuppoſed death of *Squanto*	118–120
T.	14 Aug.	24 Aug.	"	The company ſtarted in the rain, loſt themſelves, but reached *Coubatant's*	

Day of week.	O. S.	N. S.	Year.	EVENTS.	Page.
				houſe and attacked it, and captured the party	120–121
W.	15 Aug.	25 Aug.	1621	Explained matters, and returned to Plymouth	122–123
				———	
T.	18 Sept.	28 Sept.	"	Ten men, with *Squanto* and three other Indians, ſtart at midnight for the *Maſſachuſets*	124
W.	19 Sept.	29 Sept.	"	Arrived in Boſton Bay too late to land	125
Th.	20 Sept.	30 Sept.	"	Landed at *Squantum*, in Quincy, and toward night croſſed over to Charlestown	126
F.	21 Sept.	1 Oct.	"	Marched up to *Nanepaſhemet's* grave (in Medford), &c. Saw many Indian women, and, returning to their ſhallop, ſtarted on their return voyage	127–130
S.	22 Sept.	2 Oct.	"	Arrived back at Plymouth before noon	130
				———	
T.	13 Nov.	23 Nov.	"	The Fortune arrives, bringing Robert Cuſhman, and 35 perſons to be coloniſts	131
T.	11 Dec.	21 Dec.	"	Edward Winſlow writes to George Morton, to be ſent with theſe "Relations" by the ſhip on her return voyage	131–142
Th.	13 Dec.	23 Dec.	"	The Fortune ſails on her return	132
S.	17 Feb.	27 Feb.	1622	Cuſhman reaches London, after capture and detention at *Ile-d'Yeu*	132

INDEX.

INDEX.

The Arabic figures refer to the page in the body of the work; the Roman numerals refer to the introductory matter.

Names in *italics* are thoſe of Indians.

ACCOMACK, an Indian name for Plymouth, 84.

Adams, John, came in the Fortune, 138.

Advice to a paſſenger coming acroſs the ocean, 141.

Agaſſiz, Louis, his opinion touching the ſhoals which intercepted the Mayflower, 2.

Akkompoin, an Indian, 91.

Alcuin, quoted, xv.

Alden, John, 7.

Alderton, ſee Allerton.

Alewives, uſed in cultivating the ſoil, 132.

Alexander, ſon of *Maſſaſoit*, 91.

Allen, Joan, 140.

Allerton, Bartholomew, 7. Iſaac, 7, 73, 93, 96. John, 8, 45. Mary, 7, *bis*, 66; dies, 82; marries, 138. Remember, 7. Sarah, 69.

Allerton, Point, 125.

Allin, William, 73.

Angoum, otherwiſe Agawam [Ipſwich], thought of as a place for ſettlement, 39; deſcribed, 40.

Apannow, 134.

Aqua vitæ, what? 17.

Arrow-head, of what made, 55.

Ashmun, George, xxx.; Elizabeth, *ibid.*

Aspinet, ſachem of Nauſet, or Eaſtham, 115.

BARKER, Elizabeth, firſt wife of Edward Winslow, 96.

Barnſtable harbor, not viſited by the firſt exploring party, 23; viſited afterward by Winſlow and his party, 112.

Barron, Robert, xxvii.

Baſe, a piece of artillery, 82.

Baſſet, Sarah, 42. William, 42; his arrival in the Fortune, 140.

Baylies, Francis, xxx.

Beach Point, 26, 28.

Beale, William, came in the Fortune, 138.

Bellamie, John, printer of the original edition of the "Relation," xii., xiv.

Billingſgate Point, paſſed by the third exploring party, 46.

Billington, Ellen, 8. Francis, 8; nearly blows up the Mayflower, 43; diſcovers Billington Sea, 71. John, 8; hanged for murder, 43. John, the younger, 8; loſt in the woods, 112; recovered at Eaſtham, 115.

Bompaſſe [now Bumpus], Edward, 140.

Bonham, George, xxvii. Patience, *ibid.* Ruth, *ibid.* Sarah, *ibid.*

Boy [John Billington] loſt in the woods, 112; recovered, 115.

Bradford, Dorothy, 7; drowned, 60. John, 14. Joſeph, *ibid.* Mercy, *ibid.* William, *ibid.*

Bradford, William, a ſigner of the civil compact, 7; one of the firſt exploring party, 14; his antecedents, public ſervices, &c., *ibid.;* caught in a deer-trap, 25; one of the ſecond exploring party, 28; of the third, 44; taken ſick, 72, 77; choſen governor, 133.

Bradford, William, reaſons for conſidering him author of the principal part of the "Relation," xvi., xvii., 45, 52, 72.

Bradford, William, his Hiſtory quoted, 2, 5, 8, 9, 12, 15, 18, 21, 23, 24, 45, 50, 51, 52, 57, 59, 66, 80, 100, 101, 112, 118, 124, 132, 134.

Brewſter, Fear, 96. Jonathan, 140. Love, 7. Mary, 7. Patience, 139. Wreſtling, 7.

Brewſter, William, is ſent to England from Holland, with Cuſhman, as agent for the Leyden Church, xxxvii.; a ſigner of the civil compact, 7; mentioned, 73.

Briggs, Clement, came in the Fortune, 140.

Britteridge, Richard, ſigner of the compact, 8; dies, 66.

Brown, John, of New Harbor, Pemaquid, grantee in the firſt deed ever given by an Indian to a white man, 83.

Brown, Mary, 73. Priſcilla, 73. Peter, ſigner of the compact, 8; account of him, 73; loſt in the woods, 74; mentioned, 138.

Bumpus, ſee Bompaſſe.

Burial Hill, 65, 67; fortified, 65.

Butler, Maggie, 140.

Butten, William, 7.

CANNON, John, came in the Fortune, 138.

Capawak, or Martha's Vineyard, 134.

Cape Cod, the Mayflower arrives there, 3; its natural features ſince greatly changed, 2, 10, 12; large trees once grew there, 10.

Carpenter, Alexander, xxiv., xxvi. Alice, xxv., 14. Juliana, xxiv., xxvi.

Carter, Robert, 7, 9.

Carver, John, xxiii.; ſent to England, with Cuſhman, as agent from the Leyden Church, xxxvii.; ſigner of the civil compact, 7; mentioned, 14, 26, 27, 70, 74, 77, 82; choſen governor, 9, 97; account of him, 43.

Cary, Eleazar, xxix. John, *ibid.* Jonathan, *ibid.* Mary, *ibid.*

Caunbatant, or *Corbitant*, 134.

Cawnacome, 134.

Champlain, Samuel, quoted, 21.
Chandler, Roger, 43.
Cheever, George B., his edition of the "Relation," xiii.
Chikkatabak, 134.
Chilton, James, 8. Mary, 8, 138.
Chingleton, or Singleton, Mary, xxxvii.
Chronological Table of Events, 157–162.
Clark, Faith, 45. Rebecca, xxviii. Richard, 8. Thomas, xxviii. Tristram, 45.
Clark [Thomas ?], firſt mate of the Mayflower, xl., 41, 45.
Clark's Iſland, 45, 57, 58, 60, 63; the Pilgrims' Sabbath there, 59.
Claverly, Nicholas, 69.
Climate of New England, 135.
Cold Harbor, 29.
Collier, Mary, 139; William, *ibid.*
Compact, civil, of the Pilgrims, 6; names of the ſigners, 7, 8.
Conner, William, came in the Fortune, 138.
Cook, Francis, 8, 73, 80; account of him, 80. John, 8.
Cooper, Ann, xxvii. Humility, 8, 14. Lydia, xxvi.
Coppin, Robert, ſecond mate and pilot of the Mayflower, xl., 41, 45, 56, 57.
Copp's Hill, 125.
Corbitant, otherwiſe *Coubatant*, an unfriendly ſachem, 118, 120–123.
Cornhill, a place ſo named on Cape Cod, 30.
Corvannell, William, 80.
Cotton, Joſiah, quoted, 85, 124.
Counteſs of Lincoln, letter to her from Thomas Dudley quoted, 72.
Coubatant, ſee *Corbitant*.
"Cove full of breakers" in Plymouth Bay, where was it? 57.
Crackſtone, John, 8, *bis*.
Cummaquid, or Barnſtable harbor, 112.
Cuſhman, Robert, his ſhare in the authorſhip of the "Relation," xvii.; his Dedication to John Peirce, xxxv.; reaſons for aſſuming this as a fact, xxxvi.; account of him, xxxvii.; ſent to England four times as agent of the Leyden Church, xxxvii.; his letter quoted, 41; makes a ſhort viſit to Plymouth, xl., 137.
Cuſhman, Robert, his "Reaſons and Conſiderations touching a removing to America," 143–154; a perſonal, miraculous call, ſuch as the patriarchs and prophets had, not to be expected, 144; there is no territory which God now ſpecifically aſſigns to his people, as Canaan to the Hebrews, 145; an opportunity for greater uſefulneſs may be a call to go, 146; ſuch an opportunity is now afforded, 147; the converſion of the aborigines to be ſought, 147; the Indians are willing to part with ſome of their land, 148; they conſent to our coming to occupy it, 149; the preſent condition of England affords reaſons for a removal, 151.
Cuſhman, Thomas, account of him, 138.

DAVIS, Judge, his notes on Mourt's "Relation," xii.
Dawes, Daniel, xxx.
Dean, Stephen, came in the Fortune,

139; built the firſt corn-mill in New England, *ibid.*
Deane, Charles, his aid acknowledged, xv.
Deer caught in traps by Indians, 24.
De Bury quoted, xiv.
Delano, ſee De la Noye.
De la Noye (now Delano), Philip, came in Fortune, 139; account of, *ibid.*
Dermer, Thomas, redeemed two ſhipwrecked Frenchmen from Indian captivity, 21, 83; lands *Samoſet*, as is ſuppoſed, on Cape Cod, 83; his ſtatement quoted, 85.
Dewsbury, Eſther, 139.
Dexter, Benjamin, xxx. Elijah, *ibid.* Henry Martyn, *ibid.* Henry Morton, *ibid.* Nathaniel Morton, *ibid.* Seth, *ibid.* Thomas, *ibid.* William, *ibid.*
Digby, Thomas, pilot of Capt. John Smith, 41.
Done, or Doane, John, 73.
Doten, Edward, 8, 9, 45; a party to the firſt duel in New England, 45.
Dotey, Edward [the ſame man], xxvii.
Douglas, quoted, 3.
Drake, Samuel G., his opinion preferred in reſpect to Copp's Hill, 125.
Dudley, Thomas, quoted, 72.
Duel, firſt, in New England, 45.
Duponceau, Peter, xii.
Duxbury ſettled, 14; mentioned, 139.
Duxbury Hall, in England, 13.
Dyer's Swamp, its diſappearance, 18.

EASTHAM, 2, 46, 48, 51, 56.
East Harbor Creek, 17, 24, 28.
Eaton, Francis, 8, 43. Samuel, 8. Sarah, 8.
Eel River, in Plymouth, 59, 97.
Election Rock, 58.
Eliſha's Point, 57.
Ellis, Mordecai, xxviii. Rebecca, *ibid.*
Elſevier, W. J. C. R., his aid acknowledged, xvi.
Ely, ——, a ſeaman hired by the Pilgrim company, 8.
England, William, 83.
Engliſh, Thomas, 8, 45.
Errors and miſprints of the original edition not corrected in this, and why, xiv.
Expedition to Namaſket, 118–123; to Maſſachuſetts [Boſton harbor], 124–130.
Exploring tour, firſt, 13–27; ſecond, 27–38; third, 43–59.

FAUNCE, John, xxvii. Joſeph, *ibid.* Mary, *ibid.* Mercy, *ibid.* Patience, *ibid.* Priſcilla, *ibid.* Sarah, *ibid.* Thomas, *ibid.*
Feſſenden, G. M., quoted, 106.
"Firſt Encounter," in Eaſtham, 55.
Flavel, Thomas, 140.
Fletcher, Moſes, 8.
Fobes, Perez, D.D., referred to, 19.
Ford, widow, came in the Fortune, 138. John, *ibid.* Martha, *ibid.* William, *ibid.*
FOREFATHERS' DAY, 59.
Fortune, bark, her arrival at Plymouth in 1621; liſt of paſſengers, 137–141; return voyage, and capture by the French, 131–141; her tonnage, 131.
Freeman, Dr., his notes on the "Relation," xii.; quoted, 4, 10, 17, 18, 26.
Freeman, Frederick, quoted, 3, 5, 47.

Freeman, Samuel, 139.
French, Charles Henry, xxx.
Fuller, Ann, 8. Edward, *ibid.* Samuel, *ibid.* Sufanna, 42.
Fuller, Samuel, the phyfician, 7, 73.

GARDINER, Richard, xxxv., 8. Geefe found on Cape Cod, 29.
Gibbons, Jotham, 126.
Gilfon, William, 73.
Glafs, James, 140.
Goodman, John, 8, 73; loft in the woods, 74, 76.
Gookin, Daniel, quoted, 36.
Gorges, Ferdinando, Sir, 86.
Gofnold, Bartholomew, 2, 11.
Graham, Major, his chart ufed in this edition, xvi.
Grampus, a fifh, feveral of them found, 48.
Grave, a failor's, found, 33.
Graves, Indian, found, 20, 34.
Great Hollow, 19, 28.
Great-Meadow Creek, 51.
Gurnet, 58, 60.

HANSON, Alice, 14. Harlow, Mary, xxvii. William, *ibid.*
Harris, William Thaddeus, 125.
Harveft of the firft year, 132.
Haskell, Benjamin, Dr., of Rockport, quoted, 4.
Hawes, William T., xxix.
Herring River, 51.
Hicks, Margaret, 138. Robert, 73, 138.
Higginfon, Francis, his ftatement of the profit of raifing Indian corn, 30.
Hilton, William, came in the Fortune, 137; account of him, 138.
Hobomok, threatened by *Corbitant*, 118; efcapes to Plymouth, 120.
Hocking killed, 44.
Hodges, Charlotte, xxix.
Holbeck, William, 8, 9.
Holmes, John, xxvii. Nathaniel, *ibid.* Samuel D., 72.
Hooke, John, 7.
Hopkins's Creek, 23.
Hopkins, Caleb, 14. Conftance, 8, 14. Damaris, 8, 14. Deborah, 14. Elizabeth, 8, 14. Giles, 8, 14. Oceanus, 8, 14. Ruth, 14.
Hopkins, Stephen, 8, 14, 25, 44, 81; his journey to Pokanoket with Winflow, 98–111.
Hoppin, Abby, xxix.
Houfes built by the Pilgrims, how conftructed, 73, 79, 142.
Howland, John, 7–9, 14; account of him, 44.
"Huggerie," or fight, at Naufet, 86.
Hunt, Thomas, a kidnapper of Indians from Plymouth and Naufet, 54, 86, 90, 114.
Hunter, Jofeph, his fuggeftion touching "G. Mourt," xx.; concerning George Morton, xxv.; quoted, 140.
Hutchinfon, Thomas, quoted, 55.
Huttamoiden, 134.

INDIANS firft feen by the exploring party, 15; their barns, what? 21; their manner of fecuring their corn, *ibid.*; their habitations defcribed, 35; their implements, 36; their baskets, *ibid.*; their graves, 49, 108; unclad, or nearly fo, 135; "firft encounter" with, 52; figns of at Plymouth, 69, 70, 71, 78, 79, 81; a mortal ficknefs among

them about 1618, 85, 103; kidnapped by Hunt, and ſold in Spain, 86; their costume, 87; kind behavior of, 104, 135; afraid of fire-arms, 106; their manner of lodging, 108; faithful to the coloniſts, 133; wars among them prevented by the coloniſts, 135; deſtitute of religion, *ibid.*; fortifications deſcribed, 128; willing to part with ſome of their land, 148.

Indian corn found by the exploring party, 21, 30; paid for, 78, 100, 115, 137.

Ipſwich [Angoum, Agawam] thought of as a place for ſettlement, 39; harbor deſcribed, 40.

Iyanough, ſachem of Cummaquid [Barnſtable], 113; entertains Winſlow and his party, 113; accompanies them to Eaſtham, 114; his generous behavior, 113, 116; his melancholy end, 113.

JAMES, King, his name uſed in various public tranſactions, 6, 7, 92, 107; nine ſachems profeſs allegiance to, 134, 135.

Jennings, John, 43.

Johnſon, Edward, his "Wonder-working Providence" quoted, 54.

Jones, maſter of the Mayflower, 15, 27, 39, 55, 79, 81; accompanies the ſecond exploring party, 28, 29, 32.

Jones River in Kingſton, 59, 63.

KIMBALL, M. Day, xxx.
Kingſton, an exploring party visit it, 61, 63.

Kidnapping of Indians by Hunt, 54, 86, 90, 114.

LANGEMORE, John, 7, 9.
Latham, William, 7.

Leaver, a miſprint for Carver, 74.

Lee, Henry, Biſhop of Iowa, xxix.

Leiſter, or Liſter, Edward, 8, 9.

"Lemes," what is the meaning? 119.

Levett, Chriſtopher, 83.

Lions, their roar ſuppoſed to be heard at Plymouth, 75.

Lobſters, abundance of, 101, 135.

Long Point, Provincetown, the anchorage of the Mayflower, 3, 4, 5, 15, 26, 45.

Lovering, Willard, xxix.

MAIZIUM, a kind of bread made by Indians, 101.

Manomet, 41, 56, 57, 61.

Maramoick, or Monomoy [Chatham], 115.

Margeſon, Edmond, 8.

Martha's Vineyard, 134.

Martin, Chriſtopher, 7, 66; dies, 70.

Maſſachuſetts [Boſton harbor], voyage of Standiſh and nine others to, 124.

Maſſaſoit viſits the coloniſts, 91; treaty with him, 93; deſcribed, 94; interview of Winſlow and Hopkins with him at Pokanoket, 106; his ſpeech to his ſubjects, 107; affords his gueſts poor entertainment, 108; preſſes them in vain to prolong their ſtay, 109; report of his being a priſoner to the Narraganſetts, 116; further mention of him, 94, 98, 101, 105, 106, 113, 118, 123, 126, 133, 134, 148.

Mayflower ſails from Plymouth, Eng., 1; anchors in Provincetown harbor, 3; anchors in Plymouth har-

bor, 60; her tonnage, 69. [Sailed for England, April 5, 1621.]
Mayhew, Thomas, receives a deed of Martha's Vineyard, 134.
Medford, 127, 128; reſidence of a ſachem, *ibid.*
Mendlove, Mark, 80.
Minion, a ſort of cannon, 81.
Minter, Deſire, 7.
Monhegan Iſland, account of, 83.
Monomoy [Chatham], 115.
More, Ellen, 7. Jaſper, 7. Richard, 7.
Morgan, Bennet, 140.
Mort, a Puritan family in Lancaſhire, xx.
Morton, Ann, xxviii. Anthony of Bawtry, xxv. Charlotte, xxix. Eleazar, xxviii. *quater.* Eliſha, xxviii. Elizabeth, xxvi., xxviii., xxix. Emily Matilda, xxx. Ephraim, xxvii. *bis*, xxviii. Eſther, xxvii. Frances Wood, xxx. George, xxvi. xxviii. Hannah, xxvii. *bis.* Ichabod, xxviii. *bis.* James Hodges, xxx. Joanna, xxvii. Joanna Maria, xxix. Job, xxix. John, xxvii. *bis*, xxviii. Joſiah, xxviii. Lydia, xxvi. Lydia Maſon, xxix. Manaſſeh, xxvii. Marcus, xxix. *bis.* Martha, xxvii., xxix. Mary, xxvii., xxx. Mercy, xxvi., xxviii. Mordecai, xxviii. Nathaniel, xxvi., xxviii. *ter*, xxix. *quater.* Patience, xxvii., xxviii. Rebecca, xxviii. *bis*, xxix. Remember, xxvi. Sarah, xxvii. Sarah Carey, xxix. Suſan Tillinghaſt, xxx. Thomas, xxviii.
Morton, George, came in the Ann, 141; his deſcendants, xxvi.–xxx.; account of him, xxii.–xxiv.; reaſons for believing him to be identical with "G. Mourt," xviii.–xxi.; his addreſs "To the Reader," xvii., xxxix.
Morton, Marcus, Dedication to him, v.
Morton, Nathaniel, ſon of George, Secretary, his "New-England Memorial" quoted, xxi., 5, 9; his family, xxii., xxvi.
Morton, Thomas, brother of George, xxiv.
Morton, Thomas, author of "New Engliſh Canaan," quoted, 20, 21, 24, 29, 61, 87, 108, 132.
Morton, Thomas, a paſſenger in the Fortune, 140.
Moult, a Puritan family in Derbyſhire, xx.
"Mourt, G.," pſeudonyme for George Morton, reaſons for this opinion, xviii.–xxi.
"Mourt's Relation," its ſeveral editions, xii.; the typographical errors of the original edition not corrected in this, and why, xiv.; who were the authors, xvi.
Mullins, Joſeph, 7. Priſcilla, 7. William, 7; dies, 82.
Muſſels and other ſhell-fiſh ſometimes poiſonous, 4.
Muttock Hill, in Middleborough, 121.
Myrick, Osborne, of Provincetown, his aid acknowledged, xv.
Myſtic River, 130.

NAMASKET, or Nemaſket [Middleborough], 101, 118; expedition thither to defend *Maſſaſoit*, 118–123.
Nanepaſhemet, 126, 127, 128; a fort built by him deſcribed, *ibid.*, 130; his ſkeleton exhumed? 128.

Narraganſetts, or Narrohiganſets, 96, 105, 107, 116, 118, 123, 149.
Nattawahunt, 134.
Nauſet, now Eaſtham, viſited by Winſlow and others, 112–117.
Nauſet Indians, 54, 86.
Nelſon, John, xxviii.
Nepeof, 120.
"New Engliſh Canaan," quoted, 20, 21, 24, 29, 61, 87, 108, 132.
Newton, Elinor, 138.
Nicholas, Auſtin, 138.
Nokehick [nocake], pounded corn, 88.
Norris, Mary 96.

OBBATINEWAT, 126.
Obbatinnua, 134.
Ohquamehud, 134.
Oldham, Margaret, 140.
Oliver, Judge, his houſe burned, 121.
Otis, Amos, quoted, 2.

PALFREY, John G., his hiſtory referred to, 2, 69.
Palmer, Emeline, xxx. Simeon, *ibid.* William, 140 *bis*.
Pamet River, in Truro, 3, 13, 19, 22, 23, 28, 30, 38.
Parnall, William, 83.
Partridge, Ralph, 139.
Patuxet, Indian name for Plymouth, 84.
Paver, William, of York, England, xxv.
Peirce, John, dedication to him, xvii., xxxv., xxxvi.
Pekſuot, 113.
Philip, 91.
Philip, John, 138.
Pickering, Edward, "merchant from London," xxiv.
Pilgrims of the Mayflower, their voyage, 1; arrive at Southampton, Eng., *ibid.*; put back to Dartmouth, *ibid.*; leave Plymouth, Eng., *ibid.*; deſcry Cape Cod, 2; anchor in the harbor of Provincetown, 3; enter into a compact of ſelf-government, 6; a copy of this compact, 6, 7; names of the ſigners, 7, 8. Their firſt exploring party [on land], 8–11, 15; ſee Indians, 15; their firſt draught of the water of New England, 12, 18; find Indian corn, 21, for which they afterwards pay, 38, 115, 137; obſerve traces of former European viſitants, 21, 22, 30; armed with matchlocks, 24; return of the party to the ſhip, 26. Second exploring party [in the ſhallop], 28; reach Eaſt-Harbor Creek, 28; reach Pamet River, 29; find Indian graves and wigwams, 34; return to the ſhip, 37; reaſons for and againſt ſettling on Cape Cod, 38–40. Third exploring party, in the ſhallop, along the inner coaſt of Cape Cod, 45; deſcry Indians, 47; find an Indian burying-place, 49; firſt encounter with Indians, in Eaſtham, 52; cauſe of the attack, 54, 114; arrive in the harbor of Plymouth, 58; land on Clark's Iſland, and keep Sabbath there, 59; the party in the ſhallop land on PLYMOUTH ROCK, *ibid.*; return to the ſhip, *ibid.*; the ſhip brought into Plymouth harbor, 60; ſome of the company wiſh to plant themſelves on Clark's Iſland, 63; final determination to ſettle on Town Brook at Plymouth, 64; the work of building commenced, 66,

72; the lots meaſured out, 68; the firſt deaths, 66; ſaw Indian ſmokes, but no Indians, 69, 70; name their ſettlement PLYMOUTH, 69; had a mild winter, 72; their common houſe partly deſtroyed by fire, 77; their firſt Sabbath ſervice on ſhore, 78; the landing from the ſhip completed about the end of March, 90; their firſt harveſt, 132, and Thankſgiving, 133.

Pitt, William, came in the Fortune, 138.

Plummer, Ann, 14.

Plymouth, the landing at, 59; harbor deſcribed, 60; territory, 62; plants and trees found there, *ibid.*; the name impoſed, and why, 69; called by the Indians Patuxet, 84.

Plymouth Rock, landing on, 59.

Pokanoket, viſit to, 98; etymology and meaning of the word, 102; the embaſſy arrives at Namaſket, 101, at Titicut, 102; ſigns of a former extenſive cultivation, 103, 104; the country deſcribed, 105; the embaſſy reach Pokanoket, 106; interview with *Maſſaſoit*, 106; return, 111.

Pond Village, in Truro, 18, 19.

Pontus, William, 140.

Prence, Thomas, governor, came in the Fortune, account of him, 139.

Priest, Digory, 8; dies, 69; account of him, 69, 96.

Prince, Thomas, his Annals quoted, 9, 23, 66; his New-England Chronology quoted, 37, 69, 112.

Prower, Solomon, 7, 9; dies, 66.

Purchas, his abridgment of the "Relation," xii.

QUADEQUINA, brother of *Maſſaſoit*, viſits the colony, 91, 92; deſcribed, 95; profeſſes himſelf a loyal ſubject of King James, 134.

RELATION, Mourt's, its ſucceſſive editions, xii.; their errors not corrected in this, and why, xiv.; its ſeveral authors aſcertained, xvii.

Ridgdale, Alice, 8. John, *ibid.*

Ring, Elizabeth, 139.

Robinſon, Anna, xxv.

Robinſon, John, his ſhare in the "Relation," xvii.; his letter to Carver, xxiii.; his "Letter of Advice" to the Pilgrims of the Mayflower received at Southampton, xli.–xlvii.; he is reſtrained by neceſſity from going with them, xli.; admoniſhes them to daily repentance for ſin, xlii.; cautions them againſt both giving and taking offence, xliii., ſince many of them have had but a brief acquaintance, xliv.; exhorts them to cultivate a generous public ſpirit, xlv., and to ſubmit themſelves to the civil authority which they would erect in their new home, xlvi.; a paſſage ſhowing that the Pilgrims fully intended, before commencing their voyage, to eſtabliſh on theſe ſhores a government reſting on the conſent of the perſons governed, xliv., xlv.

Rock Harbor, in Eaſtham, 51.

Rock, Plymouth, Pilgrims land on, 59.

Rogers, Joſeph, 8. Thomas, *ibid.*

SAKER, a gun, 81.
Saller, a miſprint for ſaker, 81.
Samoſet, an Indian, 54; viſits the coloniſts at Plymouth, 83; account of him, *ibid.*; information imparted by him, 84, 85; repeats his viſit, 87; his third viſit, 90, 97.
Samſon, Henry, 8, 14.
Saquiſh Point, 57, 58, 60.
Schoolcraft, Henry R., quoted, 20.
Sea-fowl, great abundance of at Cape Cod, 3.
Seals caught, 71.
Shaw, Edward, 80.
Simmons, ſee Symonſon.
Singleton, Mary, xxxvii. Thomas, *ibid.*
Slanie, or Slany, John, of London, 91.
Smith, John, Captain, his abridgment of the "Relation," xii.; had viſited New England, xl.; his "Deſcription of New England" known to the Pilgrims, 4; his work quoted, 11, 40, 41, 84, 86, 100.
Snaphance, what? 52.
Snow, "Hiſtory of Boſton," quoted, 126.
Somerville, 126.
Soule, George, a paſſenger in the Mayflower, 7, 8; mentioned, 88.
Southworth, Alice, 14.
Sowams, in Warren, R. I., the reſidence of *Maſſaſoit*, 106.
Spooner, John, 43.
Squabetty, in Raynham, 103.
Squanto, or *Tiſquantum*, 83; viſits the coloniſts, 90; his ſervices, 92, 97, 118; dies, 90. See *Tiſquantum*.
Squantum, a peninſula in Quincy, 125.
Squaw-ſachem of Maſſachuſetts, 126.
Stacie, Hugh, came in the Fortune, 138.
Standiſh, Alexander, 14. Charles, *ibid.* Joſiah, *ibid.* Lora, *ibid.* Miles the younger, *ibid.* Roſe, 7, 14, 78.
Standiſh, Miles, 7, 13, 54; account of him, 13; his public ſervices, 14; mentioned, 42, 43, 52, 70, 80, 81, 90, 92, 96, 113, 148; choſen captain, 80; his expedition to Namaſket, 119; to Boſton harbor, 124.
Star Mills in Middleborough, 101.
Stewart, James, came in the Fortune, 140.
Stevens's Point, 10.
Stout's Creek, 16, 25.
Story, Elias, 7, 9.
Strawberries [qu. cranberries] plentiful on Cape Cod, 20.
Stowers, Mary, her marriage, xxiv.
Stuws, Maycken, her marriage, xxiv.
Swift, Thomas, xxviii.
Symonſon, Moſes, 139.

TARRATINES, or Penobſcot Indians, feared by Maſſachuſetts Indians, 126, 127.
Templar, Ann, wife of Nathaniel Morton, xxvi.
Tench, William, 138.
Thacher, Anthony, 88.
Thacher, quoted, 15, 97.
Thankſgiving, the firſt, 133.
"Thieviſh Harbor," 42, 55.
Thomſon, Edward, 8, 9.
Thoreau, quoted, 17, 19, 20, 21.
Tilley, Ann, 8, 14. Edward, 8, 14, 44, 46. Elizabeth, 8, 14, 44. John, 8, 14, 44.
Tinker, Thomas, 8.
Tinkham, Ephraim, 73.

Tiſquantum, the ſame as *Squanto*, 98, 102, 109, 113, 114, 119, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 129.
Titicut, 102.
Tobacco, uſed by the Indians, 88, 94.
Tokamahamon, 109, 110, 113, 119, 120, 122.
Town Brook, in Plymouth, 59, 61, 81.
Traps for deer, 24.
Treaty with *Maſſaſoit*, 93.
Trevore, William, 8.
Trumbull, J. Hammond, his aid acknowledged, xv., 53, 119.
Turbot not the halibut, 61.
Tupper, Martha, xxix.
Turner, John, 8.

UNKOMPOEN, 91.
Unnongoit, 83.

VEGETABLE productions of New England, 136.
Vincent, John, 69.
Vines, Richard, 134.
Vines, grape, on Cape Cod, 20.

WALNUT TREES on Cape Cod, 20.
Warren, Joſeph, xxvii., 44. Nathaniel, 44. Richard, 8, 44.
Watſon, Samuel, xxix.
Way, Thomas, 83.
Waymouth, George, 90.
Webbacowet, 126.
Webſter, Daniel, reſidence of, 43, 44.
Wellfleet Bay, 46, 47, 48, 49.
Wellingſly, in Plymouth, 59.
Weſton, Thomas, his negotiations with the Leyden people, xix., xxiii., xxiv.
Whales ſeen in Provincetown harbor, 3, 36.
White, Daniel, 42. John A., *ibid.* Jonathan, *ibid.* Mercy, *ibid.* Peregrine, *ibid.* Reſolved, 8, 42. Sarah, 42. Silvanus, *ibid.* Suſanna, 8, 42. William, 8, 42; dies, 82.
Wigwams, how made, 35.
Wilder, Roger, 7, 9.
Wilkin, Roger, 96.
Williams, Roger, quoted, 20, 36, 37, 108, 124, 128.
Williams, Thomas, 8, 93.
Williamſon, a miſprint for Allerton, 93.
Willis, Richard, xxvii.
Wilſon, Hendrik, 43. Roger, xxiv.
Winetuxet River, 103.
Winſlow, Edward, his ſhare in the authorſhip of the "Relation," xvii.; the "Relation" printed without his conſent, xviii., 135; a ſigner of the civil compact, 7; his first marriage, to Elizabeth Barker, 44, 96; his ſecond, to Suſanna, widow of William White, 42, 44; his voyages to England and Hiſpaniola, 44; governor, *ibid.*; his death at ſea, *ibid.*; mentioned, 42, 44, 45, 54, 91, 92; quoted, 80, 135, 139; his journey to Pokanoket, 98; muſt have written the narrative of that journey, 98, and the letter at the cloſe, 142; purpoſe of the journey, 99; arrives at Namaſket, 101, and at Titicut, 102; fords Taunton River, 103; obſerves ſigns of a former large population, 103; arrives at Pokanoket, 106; ſlender entertainment there, 108; ſuffers from hunger on the return, 109; viſit to Cummaquid

[Barnſtable], 112, and to Nauſet [Eaſtham], 114; interview with Aſpinet, 115; return to Plymouth, 117; his letter to G. M. [George Morton], 131–142; ſummary of the tranſactions of the firſt year, 132, 133; his eſtimate of the country and climate, 135; advice touching preparations for a voyage to Plymouth, 141.

Winſlow, Elizabeth, 7. Gilbert, 8. John, 138.

Wittuwamet, 113.

Wolves, their howl miſtaken for the roar of lions, 75.

Wood, "New-England's Proſpect" quoted, 20.

Wood-gaile, what? 17, 18.

Wright, Priſcilla, 138. William, *ibid.*

Wrington, Somerſetſhire, Eng., xxiv., xxvi.

YOUNG, Dr., quoted or referred to, xi., xii., xvi., xviii., xx., 2, 4, 9, 18, 23, 25, 26, 32, 45, 47, 48, 51, 63, 67, 74, 85, 93, 116, 119, 125, 136.

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